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CONTENTS

| | | |
|--------------------------------|--|-----|
| <i>Arthur Pierce Middleton</i> | From Daughter Church to Sister Church: The Disestablishment of the Church of England and the Organization of the Diocese of Maryland | 189 |
| <i>Garrett Power</i> | High Society: The Building Height Limitation on Baltimore's Mt. Vernon Place | 197 |
| <i>Curtis Carroll Davis</i> | In Pursuit of Booth Once More: A New Claimant Heard From | 220 |
| <i>Roszel C. Thomsen</i> | The Integration of Baltimore's Polytechnic Institute: A Reminiscence | 235 |
| <i>Abraham Makofsky</i> | Demographics and Culture: The 1980 Census Report on Lumbee Indians of the Baltimore Metropolitan Area | 239 |

Book Reviews

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Everstine, The General Assembly of Maryland, 1776-1850</i> , by Gary L. Browne • <i>Blassingame, et al., eds., The Frederick Douglass Papers</i> , by Otey M. Scruggs • <i>Hanchett, The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies</i> , by Terry Alford • <i>James, ed., Papers of the Women's Trade Union League and its Principal Leaders</i> , by Fred Shelley • <i>Dorsey, Mount Vernon Place</i> , by Elizabeth F. Hartley • <i>Soria, Dictionary of Nineteenth Century American Artists in Italy, 1760-1914</i> , by Douglas H. Gordon • <i>Shehan, A Blessing of Years</i> , by Thomas W. Spalding | 247 |
|---|-----|

MARYLAND MAGAZINE OF GENEALOGY

| | | |
|--------------------------|--|-----|
| <i>Thomas M. Coakley</i> | George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore: Family, Status, Arms | 255 |
|--------------------------|--|-----|

Book Notes

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Crandall, ed., Genealogical Research in New England</i> , by Joseph Carroll Hopkins | 270 |
|--|-----|

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| NEWS AND NOTICES | 271 |
| MARYLAND PICTURE PUZZLE | 273 |

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ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND



Album quilt top, 1852

#79.29.1

246.4 cm. × 201.9 cm.

Gift of Mrs. Frances Marie Smart, Mrs. James Whitaker, and Mrs. Joseph F. Wood.

Given to the Society in 1979, this quilt top is composed of appliquéd designs in cotton, woven silk and velvet on white cotton squares. The lower left square is inscribed, "Little Lucy/from Fanny Walker/Baltimore/1852". The other 19 squares each bear a signature written in ink. Names are as follows: Top row, L.-R. William Dames, Amanda Su Gelbach, Mary E. Barrenger, Mary Dames; 2nd row, L.-R. John Dames, Andrew Brunner, Augustus Dames, Celeste C. Barrenger; 3rd row, L.-R. Rosanna Walker, Mary E. Lambert, (Tilghman?) Scofeild, Rosina Lambert; 4th row, L.-R. Sarah E. Bombarger, Henry Scofeild, John McCullough, Diana Dames; 5th row, L.-R. (Inscription), Cynthia Scofeild, William T. Bockhold, Barbara Dames.

A complete history of this textile is not known. In 1946 Dr. William Rush Dunton, Jr. published the quilt top in his book, *Old Quilts*. At the time of his publication the quilt top belonged to Mrs. Arthur Barton. Dr. Dunton wrote that the piece was first owned by a Captain Aust, who lived in Baltimore and then Virginia. Friends of the captain gave him the squares before he left Baltimore. Later the quilt top was given to William Smart by his grandmother, a daughter of Captain Aust. Concerning "Little Lucy", Dr. Dunton found that inspiration for this square may have come from a series of mid-19th century children's books with Lucy as heroine. The "Lucy" stories taught moral principles.

In *Baltimore Album Quilts*, 1981, Dena S. Katzenberg set forth evidence that Mary Evans, a professional quiltmaker, made expertly worked Baltimore album quilts in the late 1840's and early 1850's. There is no documentation on the maker of this quilt top, but study shows that the maker was at least a skilled copyist of the Mary Evans style of quiltmaking.

From Daughter Church to Sister Church: The Disestablishment of the Church of England and the Organization of the Diocese of Maryland

ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON

WHEN THE STORM OF THE AMERICAN Revolution broke over the thirteen Continental colonies, there were about 300 Anglican parishes and about 250 priests, more than half of whom were in Virginia and Maryland. When the storm subsided, the Church of England in the United States was literally in ruins. What had been a flourishing and growing church in 1776 was reduced to a remnant, a shadow of its former self, a shattered church. Abandoned by many of its former adherents and reviled by its opponents, it appeared to be on its way to oblivion. As a church historian, the late James Thayer Addison, put it: "No other religious body was seriously injured by the American Revolution." Of them all, only the Anglican Church was very nearly destroyed.

Although two-thirds of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were members of the Church of England and remained Anglicans after the war, the institutional embodiment of the Anglican Church was intimately bound up with the Crown, with English authority, and, in the case of Maryland, with the proprietary prerogative of the Lords Baltimore. The very name of it, the "Church of England," identified it with the enemy whose forces had ravaged the colonies, burnt towns, pillaged farms, and preyed on our commerce. The

name "England," of which the colonists had been so proud prior to the Stamp Act, was now associated in their minds with tyranny and oppression.

For another thing, relatively few Anglican priests in America, except in Virginia, readily espoused the cause of independence. Many of them were British born, and apart from Virginia and Maryland, most of them were supported, wholly or partially, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the charter of which limited its benefactions to priests and catechists serving in British dominions. Also, as we shall see, they had sworn an oath of allegiance to the king at their ordination. Some of them considered this oath binding even though they might sympathize with the grievances of the colonists. Some favored the patriot cause until July 4, 1776, but because of the oath could not in good conscience go along with independence. Many of them, even some who naturally favored the attempt to obtain a redress of colonial grievances, sought to remain neutral during the war in the increasingly forlorn hope that the British Government would achieve reconciliation with America before it was too late. Relatively few of them were prepared to omit the prescribed prayers for the King and Parliament. Wherever the patriots were in control, these were forbidden. And so, recalcitrant priests were harassed and silenced or punished. Because of their association with King George III, priests of the Church of England were among the most obvious targets for the patriots' indignation.

The odium which attached to the clergy

This article was first delivered as an address by Canon Arthur Pierce Middleton, Ph.D., in the Senate Chamber of the Annapolis State House, October 29, 1983, in observance of the two-hundredth anniversary of the reorganization of the Church in Maryland, jointly sponsored by the Dioceses of Maryland, Washington, and Easton.

was not generally extended to laymen—except possibly in New England. Most of the Revolutionary leaders in the South were churchmen. In Maryland the leaders included men like William Paca, Samuel Chase, Matthew Tilghman, and Charles Carroll the Barrister. In Virginia even the clergy tended to be patriots, and Anglican priests were often elected regimental chaplains by the men themselves. About two-thirds of the 92 priests in Virginia on the eve of the Revolution supported the American cause. Even so, by the end of the long war 23 parishes had been entirely extinguished and 34 others were without resident priests. In Maryland the situation was even worse. Some two-thirds of the clergy here remained loyal to the crown, and by 1780 more than half of the priests who were in the province in 1776 had returned to England, died, or retired.

With the coming of the Revolution and the decision in favor of independence, Maryland, like other former colonies, set about to draw up a constitution. Following the precedent of Virginia, the Maryland convention began by composing a Declaration of Rights which served as a basis for the constitution itself.

The Virginia Declaration of Rights, largely the product of the gifted pen of George Mason, a staunch Anglican, was adopted on June 12, 1776—several weeks before the Declaration of Independence. Its 16th article declared "That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience."

Maryland soon followed suit. On November 3, 1776 its Convention met in Annapolis and adopted a Declaration of Rights which, in article 33, affirmed, "That as it is the duty of every man to worship God in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to him, all persons, professing the Christian religion, are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty." It also declared that no one ought "to be compelled to frequent or maintain or contribute. . . to any particular place of worship, or any partic-

ular ministry." This, of course, swept away the taxes that the Established Church had relied on for financial support since 1692. Article 35 of the Declaration brought an end to the political disfranchisement of Roman Catholics and others by eliminating religious qualifications for voting and for office holding for all Christians.

It is noteworthy that the committees that formulated these documents and the majority of the members of the conventions that adopted them were Anglicans. Disgruntled dissenters—Protestant as well as Roman Catholic—have always clamored for religious freedom for themselves. What was new under the sun was that the men who devised legislation to secure religious freedom in Virginia and Maryland did so not because they opposed the Church they were disestablishing, but because they were convinced that toleration was both theologically and politically the more excellent way, and that political and religious freedom was indissolubly interconnected.

All five of the members of the committee that drafted the famous Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom were vestrymen of the former Established Church of the Commonwealth: Jefferson, Mason, Wythe, Pendleton, and Thomas Ludwell Lee. The committee that produced the Maryland Declaration of Rights was chaired by Charles Carroll the Barrister, a devout Anglican and a vestryman of St. Anne's, Annapolis. Other members were Matthew Tilghman, George Plater, Samuel Chase, and Richard Goldsborough—all Anglicans. The only member who was not of the Established Church was Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

It is true, of course, that in some ways the establishment had, in fact, been hard on the Church, in spite of the prestige and emoluments involved. Ecclesiastical establishment gave the crown, the Lord Proprietor, the governor, and the General Assembly a certain amount of control or, at least, veto power over the Church, especially in view of the fact that there was no resident bishop in colonial Maryland. The former historiographer of the Diocese of Maryland, Dr. Nelson Rightmyer, has written: "Had the Church been free to elect a bishop, had the clergy been free to meet whenever the necessity arose, had there been no interfer-

ence in the affairs of the Church for political reasons, the advance of the Church might have been phenomenal. As it was, the Church was hampered in its internal life but provided for in its material aspects."

After the Church in Maryland had been deprived of its public support, the parishes were in a kind of limbo until the organizing of the Diocese of Maryland in the 1780s. The Declaration of Independence suddenly deprived the Anglican Church in America of its accustomed relationship to both king and bishop. As one nonplussed priest put it in a letter dated August 25, 1776: "I look upon the King's supremacy and the constitution of the Church of England to be so intimately blended together that whenever the supremacy is either suspended or abrogated the fences of the Church are broken down and its visability is destroyed." It was as though the rug had been pulled from under the Church. It lost not only its "visability," but also its prestige, its official position, and its customary emoluments. An incumbent priest, even if he were an ardent patriot, was suddenly shorn of his financial support, and vestries lost their habitual means of raising funds to build or repair churches, chapels, and rectories by means of public taxation. It took quite a while to adjust to the changed conditions and to learn how to raise funds by voluntary contributions.

The other great problem that priests in Anglican orders faced was one of conscience. All had taken a solemn oath in the presence of the bishop who ordained them acknowledging royal supremacy and committing them to allegiance to the king. But the Declaration of Independence declared in no uncertain words that he was deposed and was no longer the rightful king as far as the thirteen United States were concerned. This presented each American priest of the church with a moral dilemma. Did the oath oblige him to remain a loyalist during the war, or was the action of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia on July 4 a responsible and constitutional one justifying his acquiescence and transferring his allegiance to the newly-constituted authority in each state, recognizing the governor as the lawful successor of the king who had been deposed because of his tyr-

anny? The clergy of other Christian bodies in the United States had no such dilemma. It was one that was peculiar to priests in Anglican orders.

Some twentieth-century observers have assumed that the really conscientious ones felt bound by their ordination oath and have written off those who espoused the cause of independence as dissemblers—like the notorious Vicar of Bray. Others have dismissed the reality of the moral issue rather cavalierly so as not to put the patriotic clergy in a bad light. But the truth in this case, as in so many others, has a habit of avoiding extremes. To explain the state of affairs in 1776 requires a brief digression. A glance at English history will provide us with a more balanced view of this thorny issue.

The English Civil War in the 1640s culminating in the martyrdom of King Charles I had a profound effect on the attitude of staunch Royalists. With the restoration of the Stuart dynasty in 1660, the Cavalier Parliament undertook to tighten up the oath of allegiance so that, in future, no man of conscience would be able to participate in an open rebellion against the King. The result was a new oath in the 1662 Act of Uniformity: "I, A.B., declare, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King . . . or against those that are commissioned by him . . . and I do hold, there lies no Obligation upon me . . . to endeavour any change or alteration of Government in Church or State." (13 or 14 Car.II, cap.4)

Had the American Revolution occurred while this oath was in effect, it would have been very difficult indeed for any Anglican in good conscience to fight against King George III or against his royal governors or army officers. But, fortunately for the cause of our independence, this oath did not remain in effect that long. Thanks to the autocratic behavior of James II, resulting in the Glorious Revolution of 1688, he was expelled and deposed. After William and Mary came to the throne by virtue of an act of Parliament, many conscientious bishops and priests (some 400 in number) were deprived of their sees and incumbencies because of the oath of allegiance they had taken to James II, who was in exile in

ance. These, of course, were known as "Non Jurors" precisely because they could not conscientiously take another oath to William and Mary as long as James II was alive.

To prevent the repetition of such a loss of good and honorable men from the episcopate and priesthood of the Established Church, Parliament modified the oath in 1689 (1 William & Mary, cap.8) so that it might, in future, be possible for one to resist the commissioned officers of the king without being automatically guilty of high treason. The new oath was: "I, A.B., do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, so help me God."

Under this oath, which prevailed down to the American Revolution, an Anglican priest could, in good conscience, resist (or encourage others to resist) the royal governor and other officials of George III on the grounds that what they were doing was inimical to the real interests of the Crown and the Realm. But, of course, he could not abjure his allegiance to the king himself as long as he remained on the throne.

The king's claim upon his American subjects was dealt with specifically by the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776. The Declaration of Independence announced to the world that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be Free and Independent States;" and that "they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown."

This opened the way for Anglican priests who considered American grievances against Great Britain justified to quiet their consciences with respect to the oath of allegiance. Those who regarded the Maryland Convention and the Continental Congress as legitimate representative bodies, could find it in their hearts to accept their almost unanimous act in dissolving Americans from their former allegiance to George III. The new government of the State under its constitution of 1776 could be construed to be the legitimate successor of the deposed King's authority.

What actually happened is that some priests decided one way, and some another. Quite a few were caught in the middle. Torn by divided loyalties, these men equivocated

as long as they could, hoping against hope that reconciliation with Great Britain would take place, or failing that, hoping for the triumph of the British army and navy.

According to Dr. Rightmyer, of the 54 Anglican priests in Maryland on the eve of the Revolution, sixteen eventually swore allegiance to the new government—slightly less than one-third. Fifteen left the country, five remained here but refused to take the oath. One took the oath after having been banished for refusing to do so. Two took parishes in other states, and three retired. In addition, eleven died during the war. By 1780 only fifteen priests remained out of the fifty-four who had been active in 1775. Before the Revolution all 44 parishes had incumbents and several had curates as well. But by 1780 only twenty-one parishes—fewer than half—had incumbent priests, and, even then, several parishes had to share one priest. The Revolution, clearly, had seriously injured the Church of Maryland.

It will be noted that whereas nearly two-thirds of the Virginia priests were patriots, only about one-third of the Maryland clergy went along with independence. The difference had to do with the way in which incumbents were selected. In Virginia before the Revolution priests were usually instituted in parishes with the consent of the vestry. In Maryland they were arbitrarily chosen by authority of Lord Baltimore whose charter vested him with unqualified advowson, or the right to appoint priests to benefices. This helps to explain why the Proprietary interest opposed the appointment of American bishops. It also helps to explain why so many Maryland rectors owed their privileged position and generous emoluments to friendship with the last Lord Proprietor, who was not very discriminating in bestowing his patronage, rather than to their personal, intellectual, and moral qualifications.

The process of replacing the Old Established Church by the new Diocese of Maryland was a gradual one and took place over a period of years. It began on May 25, 1776 when the Maryland Provincial Convention "Resolved that every Prayer and Petition for the King's Majesty, in the Book of Common Prayer . . . be henceforth omitted

in all churches and chapels in this Province, until our unhappy differences are ended." That was done six weeks before the Declaration of Independence. Next came the Declaration of Rights of November 3, 1776 which guaranteed to the church all its property—churches, churchyards, glebes, and rectories—but ended the support of the church by public taxation. This document also reserved to the assembly the right to impose a general tax for the support of the Christian religion with each taxpayer authorized to designate the church or minister who was to receive his share. As we shall see, the assembly never acted under this provision, although the parishes of the former established church requested it on several occasions.

Meanwhile, the vestries were at a loss what to do. From the extant parish records of the period, it seems that very few vestry meetings took place in the years 1776 to 1780. Each parish which was fortunate enough to have a resident priest made a contract with him guaranteeing his continued occupancy of the glebe and rectory and permitting him to have any offerings that the parishioners might give for his support. When William Smith became Rector of Chester Parish in 1780, he was promised a stipend of 600 bushels of wheat per annum. It is probable that most vestrymen considered their title to church property legally doubtful. The Declaration of Rights guaranteed it, but the assembly had not passed any act to that effect. The church's first priority, then, was to remove all doubt about its title to the former Established Church's property. In response to this concern, the General Assembly in 1779 passed what is known as the Vestry Act, which categorically vested a clear title to church property in each parish vestry. It was on this basis that the parishes began the difficult task, for which there was no known precedent, of reorganizing themselves into a diocese. From that time onwards, vestry meetings were once more regularly held.

The first meeting that we know of that considered ways of organizing the Maryland Church took place in Chestertown on November 9, 1780 under the presidency of William Smith. A native of Aberdeen, Scotland, Dr. Smith was one of the most distin-

guished priests of the American Church. He had been head of the College of Philadelphia and a leader in intellectual and cultural circles of their metropolis, then the second largest city in the British Empire. Although he appeared lukewarm, if not neutral, during the war, he managed to keep on good terms with the British military command and also with the leading patriots, which speaks well of his diplomatic abilities. In 1780 he came to Chestertown to become rector of both St. Paul's and Chester parishes, and he preached his first sermon there on the fourth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, giving thanks to God for the coming restoration of peace and for America's independence—even before the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and the Treaty of Paris.

Three priests and twenty-four lay representatives attended the Chestertown Convention on November 9, 1780, most of them from Eastern Shore parishes. Despite the small number and limited geographical distribution of delegates, this meeting can well be considered the first move in the direction of organizing a diocese. Although no original records are extant, it appears that they drew up a petition requesting the General Assembly to provide public support for religion. Copies were sent to every parish in the state with a request that the vestries join in supporting the petition.

It is also believed that this convention agreed to adopt the name "Protestant Episcopal" for the Church that had formerly been known as the Church of England (with its unpopular association with the enemy and with the former authority of the Lord Proprietor). The most detailed and specific evidence for this comes from a letter to Bishop Claggett in 1810 from a priest named James Jones Wilmer who had been the secretary of the convention thirty years before. It was on his motion, he said, "that the Church of England as heretofore known in the province be now called The Protestant Episcopal Church, and it was so adopted."

It was not a new name. There are instances of its informal use in seventeenth-century Maryland. The historian Scharf cites examples of Anglicans in early Maryland being called "Protestant Catholics" to

distinguish them from Roman Catholics. The Caroline divines in England used the term "Protestant Episcopalians" in their controversies with "Roman Episcopalians" and with non-episcopal Protestants. The name designated what Anglicans claimed their church to be, namely, distinguished from Roman or Papal Christianity by being Protestant, and distinguished from Protestant bodies that were the creation of the Reformation by being Episcopal, i.e. having bishops in Apostolic Succession.

To recapitulate, the Chestertown Convention of 1780 is remarkable for three reasons:

- (1) It was the first of its kind, the first convention of the Episcopal Church in any of the thirteen American States that undertook to cope with the changes brought about by the Revolution;
- (2) It was the first convention of the Episcopal Church in any state that was composed of lay representatives of the parishes as well as the clergy; and
- (3) At this convention the name "Protestant Episcopal" was formally adopted for what had been known as the Church of England. The Anglican parishes in the other states eventually followed Maryland's initiative and with the adoption of the Constitution and Canons of 1789 that name became attached to the national church.

From 1780 onwards, church conventions were held annually in Maryland, which is evidence of the determination of the church in this state to develop organs through which the parishes could interact—in short, to organize the Diocese of Maryland.

A notable convention of the Maryland clergy met at Chestertown on May 14, 1783. The occasion was the first commencement of Washington College, which Smith had founded the year before and of which he was the president. He also presided at the clergy gathering, which considered "what alterations might be necessary in our liturgy and service; and how our Church might be organized and a succession in the ministry kept up, so as to be an object of public . . . support, in common with other Christian churches." In consequence, a committee consisting of Dr. Smith and the

Rector of St. Anne's, Annapolis, Thomas Gates, was appointed to draw up a petition to the General Assembly requesting permission to revise the Book of Common Prayer and to make provision for the continuation of bishops, priests, and deacons in the church.

This suggests that the Established Church mentality was so ingrained in Maryland Episcopalians that they could not free themselves of the habit of securing legislative approval for everything they wished to do. Indeed, in view of the recurrent proposals for public taxation to support religion in general, it is clear that the concept of a separation of all churches from the state was slow to take shape. The approach to the General Assembly was more likely because the dissenting bodies were casting greedy eyes on the church's extensive property. About this time Patrick Allison, the outspoken Presbyterian divine in Baltimore, publicly opposed a general tax for the support of religion on the grounds that the Episcopal Church property and membership already exceeded that of the other churches, and therefore the tax would extend its influence out of all proportion to that enjoyed by others, and would likely lead to a new church establishment. To prevent such an eventuality, Allison proposed that the property of the former Church of England be divided among all the Christian churches whose members had paid tithes before the Revolution.

Suggestions like this sent chills down the spines of Episcopalians and help to explain the extreme care with which they moved. It was imperative, they thought, to avoid giving Allison and other dissenters any grounds on which to claim that by revising the Prayer Book and, perhaps, resorting like Samuel Seabury to the Scottish bishops for the consecration of a bishop for Maryland, the Episcopal Church was disqualified as the legitimate successor of the Church of England, and that the Assembly might therefore be persuaded to divide its property among all Christian denominations in the state.

To the relief of Dr. Smith and his colleagues, the General Assembly, obviated the threat posed by Allison's suggestion and acted favorably on the petition that was

generated by the clergy gathering at Chestertown in May, 1783. Now the way was cleared for more positive action.

The clergy met again, this time in Annapolis on August 13, 1783, as Smith wrote to William White, later Bishop of Pennsylvania, "to agree upon some articles of Government . . . (and) to appoint a committee to bring in a plan of some alterations that may be found necessary in the Liturgy." At this meeting also a charter was drafted for a Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the clergy of Maryland (which is still very much in existence). Lastly the clergy drew up what is known as a Declaration of Fundamental Rights of the Church—the first such to assert its right to be wholly separate from the state government. It was sent to Governor Paca, who had been a student of Dr. Smith at the College of Philadelphia, and he graciously acceded to it. It claimed the Episcopal Church's right to "preserve herself as an entire Church, agreeably to her ancient usages and profession," to be independent of foreign (or any other) jurisdiction, to perpetuate her threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, and to insist "that an Episcopal Ordination and Commission are necessary to the valid administration of the Sacraments, and to the due exercise of the Ministerial Functions in the said Church." This, of course, excluded all but episcopally-ordained priests from the use of church property. It also reiterated its right to revise the Prayer Book "in order to adapt the same to the late Revolution, and other local circumstances of America." These changes, it was humbly conceived, would be done "without any other or farther departure from the venerable Order and beautiful Forms of Worship of Church from whence we sprung, than may be found expedient in the change of our situation from a Daughter to a Sister Church."

Having received a favorable reply from the Governor, William Paca, who was a former vestryman and warden of St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis, the clergy proceeded to elect William Smith as their bishop and drew up a request to the Bishop of London for Smith's consecration. To complete the diocesan structure, the convention created two committees, one for each shore, to in-

vestigate the manners, morals, and learning of candidates for Holy Orders, to appoint readers in vacant parishes, and to arrange with neighboring priests to provide sacramental ministrations where there were no rectors. This, apparently, was the beginning of our later diocesan Standing Committees—although the name was not used until 1785—for they had responsibility for postulants for Holy Orders and served as the Ordinary of the diocese in the absence of a bishop.

These important decisions virtually created the Diocese of Maryland, the two hundredth anniversary of which we celebrate this year. But the decisions had been made by the clergy acting apart from the laity. To validate them, it was thought desirable—or even necessary—to secure the ratification of lay representatives of the parishes. This was accomplished at the convention that met at Annapolis on June 22, 1784. As usual, William Smith presided. The actions of the clergy in previous meetings were approved and a committee appointed to draft "a Plan of ecclesiastical Government for the Episcopal Church in this State." The convention adjourned and met again on October 26 and 27, 1784. At this session additional "Constitutions or Rules" were adopted, and money was collected to defray the travel expenses of the bishop-elect to go to England for consecration.

Having thus drafted a constitution and canons, created the equivalent of a standing committee, and elected a bishop, the Diocese of Maryland was a reality—and it must be reckoned the first organized diocese of the American Church. The only other claimant of the distinction is Connecticut which elected Samuel Seabury bishop on March 25, 1783, five months before the Maryland clergy chose William Smith. But when it came to creating a diocesan structure, Maryland clearly antedated Connecticut and all the other American states.

By now, things were happening on the national scene. On October 6, 1784 a Convention of the Church in the Middle States and Maryland convened in New York. Dr. Smith, the only delegate from Maryland, was chosen president of the convention. He was also named chairman of the committee

to frame a constitution for the national Church and to compose suitable prayers to substitute for those in the 1662 Prayer Book for the King, royal family, and Parliament. The 1785 Philadelphia General Convention created a new committee of seven priests and seven laymen, also chaired by Dr. Smith, to revise the liturgy, which led to the abortive 1786 Book and to the 1789 Book of Common Prayer which served the American Church, with a few minor revisions, until 1892.

Meanwhile, the Maryland Diocesan Convention of October 24, 1786 had the unpalatable task of hearing an accusation that Dr. Smith had appeared in the General Convention the previous year in an intoxicated condition. Smith denied the charge, and in his defense the entire Vestry of Chester Parish sent a letter stating that in the six years he had been their rector they had come to know him well and that they knew no reason why he should not be made a bishop. The accusation appears to have been dismissed for want of proof, because Dr. Smith was chosen to preside over every Maryland convention until he moved to Philadelphia in 1789, and he served as president of the University of Pennsylvania acceptably from that year until his death in 1803. But the charge cast shadow on his reputation, and the General Convention of 1786 did not approve Smith's recommendation for consecration. Fortunately for the Church, this seeming rejection did not dampen Dr. Smith's ardor for the Church, and it is to his credit that he continued to use his considerable talents in its behalf even though he was deprived of his ambition to be a bishop.

When he left Chestertown to become president of the University of Pennsylvania in 1789, Dr. Smith was greatly missed in Maryland. His place, however, was taken by another priest who had long been prom-

inent in Maryland, Thomas John Claggett, and who was chosen president of the Diocesan Convention of 1790. Having been deprived of its bishop-elect when Dr. Smith withdrew his name because of opposition in the General Convention, the Diocese of Maryland carried on as best it could with its two Superintending Committees serving as the Ordinary of the diocese until Dr. Claggett was unanimously elected bishop by the Diocesan Convention that met in the Annapolis State House in 1792, and who was consecrated at Trinity Church, New York, later that year—the first Bishop of Maryland and the first bishop consecrated in the United States.

It is noteworthy that Claggett was consecrated by four bishops, three of whom had been consecrated in England and one of whom had been consecrated in Scotland. Thus the Apostolic Succession by way of the Church of England and by way of the Scottish Episcopal Church were united in the person of the first Bishop of Maryland and through him were passed on to the American Episcopate, consisting of nearly 800 bishops who have been consecrated for the American Church since 1792.

With this notable event my story comes to a happy end. The Church in Maryland, released from the shackles of the colonial establishment, had finally achieved its autonomy. Now she was secure in the enjoyment of her property, at liberty to assemble and legislate for her people, free to maintain her threefold apostolic ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, and equipped for a glorious future in a new and growing nation, to proclaim the Word and minister the Sacraments untrammelled by the State. In short, she had now been transformed from a "Daughter Church" of the Church of England to the dignity and responsibility of a "Sister Church" in the Anglican Communion.

High Society: The Building Height Limitation on Baltimore's Mt. Vernon Place

GARRETT POWER

ON MARCH 15, 1904, MARYLAND'S Governor Edwin Warfield signed into effect a law which prohibited erection of buildings, other than churches, more than 70 feet high within one block of Baltimore's Washington Monument.¹ Three years later, in March of 1907, William F. Cochran, owner of the Washington Apartments, located at the northwest corner of the Monument, was denied a building permit for construction of an additional floor, which would have increased the apartment's height from 70 to 78 feet. Cochran sought a writ of mandamus ordering the issuance of these permits from the Court of Common Pleas of Baltimore on the grounds that the law was unconstitutional, but the Honorable Henry Stockbridge denied his petition on May 16, 1907. On June 24, 1908, the Maryland Court of Appeals affirmed Judge Stockbridge's decision, finding the 1904 statute a fire control measure which was within the police power of the city.²

This "anti-skyscraper" law is often described as Maryland's first zoning law and as one of the first zoning laws in the United States. But there is more. Behind this dusty statute is a story of speculation, selfishness, collusion, and changing social values, which takes a century and a half to unfold, and which has something to say about the role of government in regulating the use of land.

I

George Washington died a hero in 1799. By 1810, the Maryland General Assembly

had authorized a lottery designed to raise \$100,000 for construction of a monument to his memory in Baltimore. A design competition was held and Robert Mills, of Charleston, South Carolina, was the eventual winner. His design called for a massive column, 140 feet high on a vaulted base, with a statue of Washington at its summit. The Monument was to have been located at the site of the Baltimore Courthouse, which was then being razed, but the War of 1812 intervened and a "battle monument," commemorating those who had fallen in the defense of the City of Baltimore, was placed at the site originally intended for the Washington Monument.³

An offer of a new site came from Colonel John Eager Howard who had ridden with George Washington during the Revolution. Howard offered a plot, 200 feet square on a magnificent hill overlooking the City, densely covered with trees. It was carved out of the Belvidere estate he had inherited from his mother. Howard's offer was readily accepted and a cornerstone for the Monument was laid by Mayor Edward Johnson on the Fourth of July, 1815. A crowd, estimated at between 20,000 and 25,000 people, assembled for the ceremony. Bands played, orators and clergymen paid flowery and lengthy tribute to Washington.⁴

Construction proceeded slowly. It was not until 1824 that the column, which was to hold the statue, had been completed. During this period, the construction site had become a favored picnic site for Baltimoreans. They would pack a lunch and trek northward through the forest to watch the construction. Public meetings and military exercises were also held on the construction grounds. Colonel Howard offered to sell a sizeable tract of land surrounding the mon-

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ument (the tract bounded by what is now Centre, Madison, Cathedral, and St. Paul Streets) to the city for park use in return for \$20,000 in city stock. The city refused, because of the anticipated operating and maintenance expenses.⁵

It was not until 1826 that a sculptor was selected to prepare the statue of Washington. For \$9,000 Enrico Causici of Verona, Italy, agreed to execute a fifteen foot statue and hoist it to the top of the column. John Eager Howard died before completion of the Monument in 1829.⁶

On Howard's death in 1827, the whole of the Belvidere estate passed to his heirs. His executors decided to capitalize on the Monument by selling the land around it in lots, rather than parcels. In 1831, they established four boulevard squares in the shape of a Greek cross. The north/south squares were called Washington Place, and the east/west squares were called Mt. Vernon Place. Lots were laid out around their perimeters. The whole neighborhood, which came to be popularly identified as Mt. Vernon Place, was Baltimore's first subdivision. The executors' marketing sense proved correct. Mt. Vernon Place became the finest residential neighborhood in Baltimore, and the boulevard squares became the most popular parks.⁷

Several houses in "Howard's Woods" as this portion of Belvidere was called, predated the laying out of the squares. A small house had existed for several years southwest of the Monument. During the construction period, it was occupied by Nicholas Hitzelberg, who was keeper of the Monument and foreman of the stonecutters. And, by 1829, Charles Howard, the youngest son of Colonel John Eager Howard, had built a great mansion northeast of the Monument.⁸ In 1835, the first house was built on the square by Edward McDonald Greenway, Sr. His house stood at the northwest corner of the Monument, at what is today 700 Washington Place. Soon thereafter, in 1842, William Tiffany built a Neoclassical house, which still stands, two doors west at 8 West Mt. Vernon Place. And Basil Gordon built a house across the street, on the other side of West Mt. Vernon Place, at what is today Number 7.⁹

West Mt. Vernon Place did not long re-

main public. In 1845, the Mayor and City Council appropriated \$600

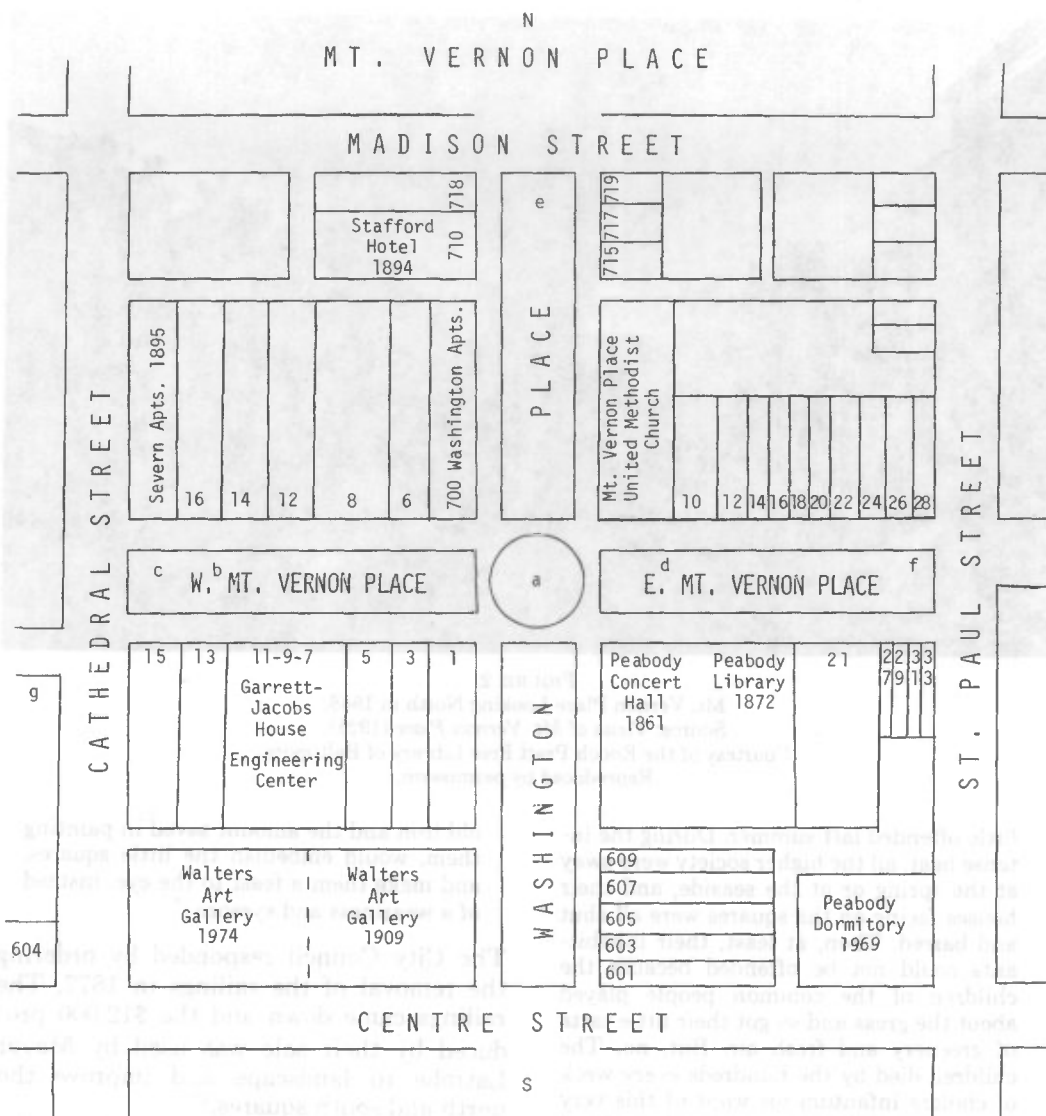
for the purpose of enclosing in a good and substantial manner, the western square opposite the Washington Monument, which sum shall be paid by the Register, to the order of William Tiffany, Edward M. Greenway, and Basil Gordon, to be applied by them, with such other sums as they and others may contribute to the improvement and embellishment of said square.¹⁰

An iron fence was erected around the west square and apparently around the other squares as well. According to the reminiscences of Mayor Ferdinand Latrobe, "[t]he origin of these enclosures was the fact that for many years—I can well recollect it as a boy—pigs were allowed to run at large."¹¹ The locked gates served the auxiliary purpose of preventing the rabble from recreation in Baltimore's finest neighborhood.

In the 1850s, lots bordering the squares filled with houses. The new residents were a Who's Who in Baltimore Society. Dr. John Hanson Thomas, a leading physician and politician, built a free standing Greek Revival house at 1 West Mt. Vernon Place; John Work Garrett, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, came to reside at 16 East Mt. Vernon Place; John Nelson, who served both as Secretary of State and Attorney General of the United States, constructed 3 West Mt. Vernon Place; William Walters, rapidly becoming one of the richest men in America, bought 5 West Mt. Vernon Place from John M. Duvall, who had built it in 1847.¹²

Mt. Vernon Place continued to change. By 1870, there was agitation to have the railings around the squares removed. A newspaper account from that era editorialized as follows:

The Mayor in his last message called the attention of the City Council to the consideration of the Mt. Vernon Squares. He says: "I would suggest the passage of an ordinance authorizing the appointment by the Mayor of three commissioners for the Mt. Vernon squares, giving them power to remove and sell, for the benefit of the squares, the iron railing now surrounding them, and appropriating a sum of money for the improvement and embellishment.



- a. Washington Monument
- b. Fountain "Boy and Turtle"
- c. "Military Courage" Statue
- d. George Peabody Statue
- e. John Eager Howard Statue
- f. Severn Teakle Wallis Statue
- g. First home of Baltimore Museum of Art

FIGURE 1.

As the work cannot be done before the commencement of the next fiscal year, the amount required would not be a burden on the present levy."

This has been again and again urged by the public and the press, but it has been unwisely resisted by a few whose mansions front on the public squares, and who regard them as their front yard. It is said that they

oppose removal of the railings because the "common people" would make it a place of evening resort. But the common people have rights to those squares as well as those in the higher walk of life. The people pay the taxes to keep them up and actually paid for the painting of the railings that bar them from all enjoyment of them.

The common people had the right to be a

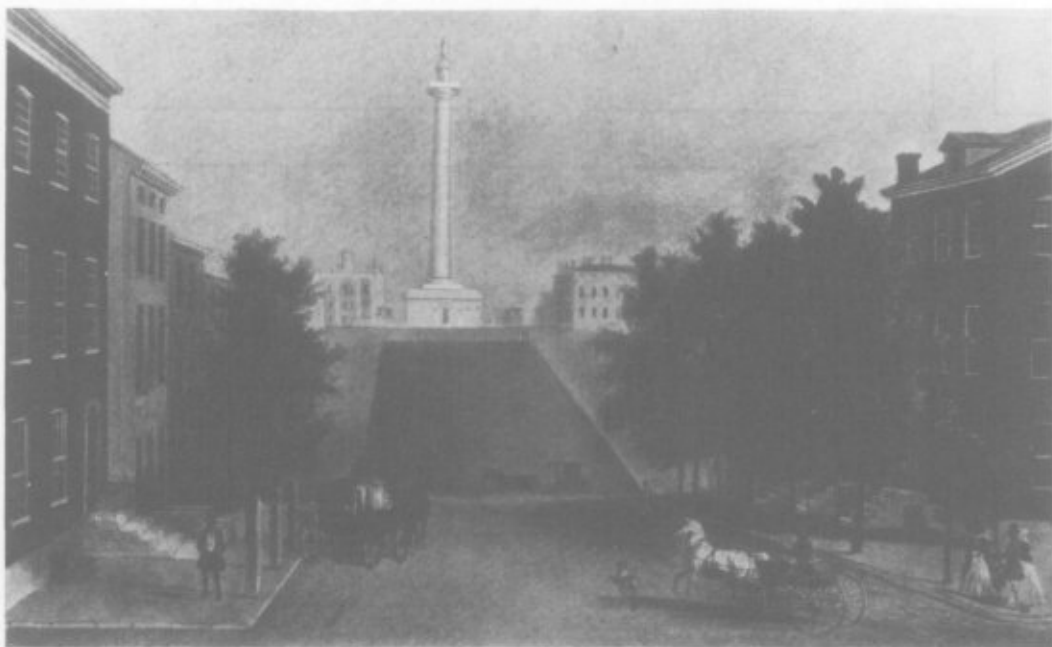


FIGURE 2.

Mt. Vernon Place Looking North in 1848.

Source: *Views of Mt. Vernon Place* (1925).

Courtesy of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore.

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little offended last summer. During the intense heat, all the higher society were away at the spring or at the seaside, and their houses facing on the squares were all shut and barred. Then, at least, their inhabitants could not be offended because the children of the common people played about the grass and so got their little taste of greenery and fresh air. But, no. The children died by the hundreds every week of cholera infantum for want of this very thing; then, at last Mayor Latrobe ordered the gates to be opened, and the little girls and boys rushed in and filled those gloomy looking little jail-yards with life and freshness. A group of children of the common people when they are happy is a lovely sight.

Every passer along those squares has a right for the enjoyment of them. He ought not to be compelled to peep through a prison fence in order to get a glimpse of the greensward. The railings ought to come down. Franklin Square, Lafayette Square, and Perkins Springs have the railings down and the effect is lovely. It would be no experiment to remove the railings of the Monument Squares. The amount that those gloomy prison fences would sell for

old iron and the amount saved in painting them, would embellish the little squares, and make them a feast to the eye, instead of a weariness and eyesore.¹³

The City Council responded by ordering the removal of the railings in 1877. The railings came down and the \$12,000 produced by their sale was used by Mayor Latrobe to landscape and improve the north and south squares.¹⁴

Nor did Mt. Vernon Place remain exclusively residential. In 1857, international banker George Peabody gave an endowment of \$1,240,000 to found an institution consisting of a Library, Music Conservatory, and Art Gallery. In 1859 residences to the southeast of the Monument were razed to make way for the Peabody Institute. The Peabody Concert Hall, built at the southeast corner of Mt. Vernon Place, was its first structure. It was completed in 1861 and purposely kept to the height of two stories, to match the height of the Thomas House, opposite to the West.¹⁵ A library addition to the structure was completed in 1866. In 1870, the Charles Howard Man-

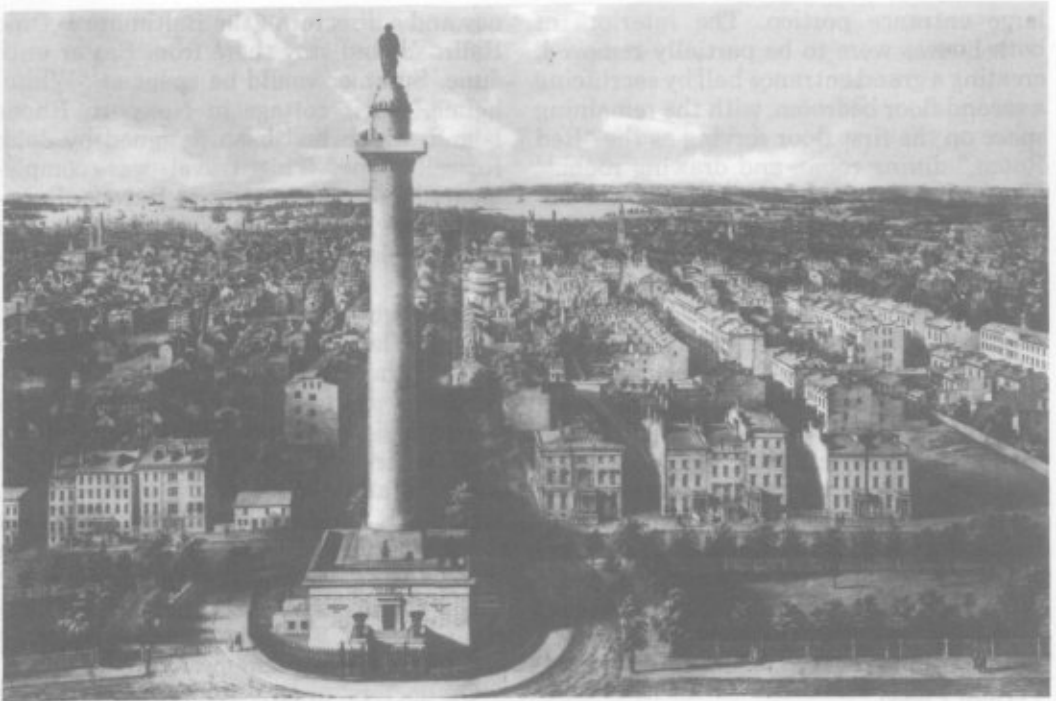


FIGURE 3.
View of Baltimore City in 1850.
Mt. Vernon Place Looking South.
Print by E. Sachse.
The Peale Museum, Baltimore.

sion, where Francis Scott Key died in 1843, was torn down to make way for the Mt. Vernon United Methodist Church. The Church, designed in the Victorian Gothic style, was finished in 1872.¹⁶ Also, in 1872, John Work Garrett acquired 11 West Mt. Vernon Place for his son Robert Garrett and the son's bride, Mary Frick. The elder Garrett presented the house which had originally been built by Samuel K. George, to his son and daughter-in-law, possibly as a wedding gift.¹⁷

Upon the death of John Work Garrett in 1844, Robert Garrett succeeded to the Presidency of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and a substantial portion of his father's fortune. Garrett and his wife set about living in a style befitting high position and great wealth. Indeed, Thorstein Veblen, who lived in Baltimore during this era, may have had the Garretts in mind when he coined the phrase "conspicuous consumption." The Garretts profoundly influenced Mt. Vernon Place.

Robert Garrett became a patron of the squares. He first contributed a basin and fountain, copied after one in Paris, for the west square of Mt. Vernon Place (which, incidentally, served as his front yard). His neighbor, William T. Walters, donated sculpture by Paul DuBoise and bronzes by Antoine Louis Barye to complement the fountain. Garrett also commissioned a copy of a statue of George Peabody, which had been erected in London; it was placed in the east square in front of the Peabody Institute.¹⁸

Mr. and Mrs. Garrett undertook to remodel their house so it would be more suitable for entertaining on a grand scale. They first purchased the house next door at 9 West Mt. Vernon Place and then commissioned Stanford White, of the New York firm of McKim, Mead & White and the leading "court architect" of the era, to turn their double house into a New York style "brownstone." White developed plans calling for a new brownstone facade with a

large entrance portico. The interiors of both houses were to be partially removed, creating a grand entrance hall by sacrificing a second floor bedroom, with the remaining space on the first floor serving as the "Red Room," dining room, and drawing room.¹⁹ These plans provoked controversy. The existing residences on the squares exemplified the styles that were successively popular in Baltimore: Greek Revival, Italian Renaissance, and Gothic Revival.²⁰ White's eclecticism struck Baltimore society as out of style and out of scale. The issue came to a head in 1884, when Henry Janes, who lived next door at 13 West Mt. Vernon Place, filed a suit in an effort to block construction. Janes' legal contention was that the portico violated set-back ordinances of Baltimore City, and constituted a nuisance, because it cut off his first floor view of the Washington Monument. Perhaps his real complaint was that the work of Stanford White was too modern for conservative Mt. Vernon Place.²¹

The evidence at the trial consisted of testimony by architects. Baltimore architects questioned the portico, while the New York architects labelled it a "handsome feature," which thoroughly harmonized with the design. The Circuit Court of Baltimore City enjoined construction; but, on appeal, the Maryland Court of Appeals determined that the portico might lawfully be built.²²

With the injunction dissolved, work on the house continued, but it was not finished until 1889. With Stanford White in New York, Mrs. Garrett took an active role in supervising construction. She was a perfectionist who demanded that results live up to her expectations. For example, the Tiffany glass window for the second floor front, entitled "The Standard Bearers" (measuring approximately eight feet by ten feet), was shipped back and forth to New York innumerable times.²³

The extended remodeling period posed no great hardship on the Garretts. They only resided at West Mt. Vernon Place during "The Season" (from November 1 until Easter). They would then adjourn to "Uplands," their country estate in Baltimore County near Catonsville, which Mary Frick Garrett had inherited from her father, William F. Frick, a Baltimore attor-

ney and a director of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and stay there from Easter until June. Summer would be spent at "Whiteholme," their cottage in Newport, Rhode Island, which had been designed by John Russell Pope. This travel was complemented by frequent trips to Europe. Renovations to 11 West Mt. Vernon Place took place while the Garretts were living elsewhere.²⁴

Although the remodeled 11 West Mt. Vernon Place had been intended for lavish entertaining, Robert Garrett had little opportunity to use it for this purpose. Times were tumultuous at the B & O. Negotiations were underway to establish a line into Philadelphia and thence to New York City. William H. Vanderbilt, of the New York Central Railroad, died in the middle of these talks. Meanwhile, financial panic shook the investment firm of Robert Garrett and Sons, which had been founded by his grandfather and namesake.²⁵

On doctors' orders, Robert Garrett took a trip around the world accompanied by his wife. First, they visited King Kalakua in Hawaii and later he shot lions on safari in Africa. On his return, he learned of the death of his brother, Thomas Harrison Garrett. And in 1887 Robert Garrett suffered a nervous breakdown from which he was never to recover.²⁶

Mrs. Garrett hired Dr. Henry Barton Jacobs, a 1887 graduate of Harvard Medical School to serve as her husband's personal physician.²⁷ During the course of her husband's illness, Mrs. Garrett carried on alone as Baltimore's social leader. Some of the city's most elaborate social events were held at the refurbished Number 11. At a dinner in 1892 ninety Maryland terrapins were used in the soup course and the New York Philharmonic performed.²⁸ Functions were elaborate and formal.²⁹

Robert Garrett died at the age of 49 in 1896. Dr. Jacobs left the employ of Mrs. Garrett and was appointed instructor in medicine at the Johns Hopkins Medical School and, in 1901, was promoted to Associate Professor.³⁰

II

Mt. Vernon Place was undergoing further changes. On the north square in 1894, Dr. William A. Moale tore down the man-

sion at 710 North Washington Place and built the Stafford Hotel, 130 feet high. Many years before, Chancellor Johnson had built the first house at 18 West Mt. Vernon Place. Modest and beautiful, it was subsequently owned by William Murdoch and Henry White. In 1895, the house was demolished and the Severn Flats were built in its stead. The Severn, ten stories (115 feet) in height, yet only four bays deep, stood awkwardly at the western entrance to Mt. Vernon Place. The Society writer for the *Baltimore Sun* nicely captured its aesthetic when she, in 1907, referred to it as "huge," and "ungainly."³¹ Mt. Vernon Society was upset by the arrival of this gawky newcomer.

Baltimore's Municipal Art Society was inspired by The Chicago World's Fair of 1893. The Fair's "White City" on Lake Michigan, built pursuant to a landscape

plan by Frederick Law Olmsted, created nationwide interest in beautifying cities with art and parks. The Society was incorporated January 18, 1899, "to provide adequate sculptured and pictorial decorations and ornaments for public buildings, streets and open spaces in the City of Baltimore, and to help generally in beautifying the City."³² It was the initiative of Theodore Marburg, a thirty-three year old society millionaire who had run unsuccessfully as a reform candidate for Mayor in the Republican primary of 1897. Its founding members constituted Baltimore's social and business elite. Eighty-seven percent were listed in the Baltimore Social Register; by occupation they were largely business and professional men.³³ Among its officers, in addition to Vice President Marburg, were Daniel C. Gilman, President of the Johns Hopkins University as well as of



FIGURE 4.

The Severn Flats.

The North Side of West Mt. Vernon Place Looking East.

Source: *Baltimore City, The Liverpool of America* (1898).

Courtesy of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore.

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the Society; architect Josias Pennington, first and long-time Secretary; Vice President Henry D. Harlan, later a judge on the Baltimore Supreme Bench; and attorney John N. Steele, the Society's Counsel. Mrs. Robert Garrett became a member of the Society in March of 1899, when women were first admitted to membership, and subsequently became a life member in 1902 (at a cost of \$100).³⁴

The Municipal Art Society embarked on a program of city-wide embellishment. At its first meeting in 1899, \$5000 was appropriated for decoration of the new courthouse with a mural; the gift was conditioned upon an undertaking by the City Council to provide \$10,000 for two other murals. This offer was accepted, and the first painting, Charles Yardley Turner's "Treaty of Calvert with the Indians," was unveiled on June 2, 1902. The two works subsequently provided by the City were Edwin Howland Blashfield's "Religious Toleration" and Turner's "The Burning of the Peggy Stewart."³⁵ In 1900, the Board of

Directors commenced consideration of purchase by the city of a belt of suburban property with a view towards acquiring parkland at a low price and directing growth in the suburbs. This initiative eventually led, in 1902, to the hiring of the most distinguished firm of landscape architects in the country, Olmsted Brothers, to prepare park plans for greater Baltimore. The Society was also the earliest proponent of the formation of an art museum for Baltimore.³⁶

During these early years the Society also took a particular interest in Mt. Vernon Place. Mt. Vernon was the neighborhood in which most of the Society's leaders lived. For thirty years most of its Board meetings were held at the home of Theodore Marburg, the Society's long-term President, who resided at 14 West Mt. Vernon Place. The buildings of Gilman's Johns Hopkins University were but two blocks to the west. John Nelson Steele's grandfather, John Nelson, had built the house at 3 West Mt. Vernon Place. Other Society members re-



FIGURE 5.

The South Side of West Mt. Vernon Place Looking East with the Portico of the Garrett-Jacobs House in the Foreground.

Source: *Baltimore City, The Liverpool of America* (1898).

Courtesy of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore.

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siding immediately on the Place were Francis Jencks of 1 West, and, of course, Mrs. Robert Garrett at 11 West. Society members who did not reside on the Place lived nearby. Hence, it was no surprise that when the Society raised a fund of \$30,000 to be used for public statues, it placed them in Mt. Vernon Place—a bronze equestrian statue of John Eager Howard by Emanuel Fremiet, dedicated in 1904 and placed at the north entrance to Mt. Vernon Place, and a bronze statue of Severn Teackle Wallis by Laurent Honore Marguete, installed in East Mt. Vernon Place.³⁷

The Municipal Art Society's concern for the aesthetic of Mt. Vernon Place extended beyond statuary. As the nineteenth century ended, Mt. Vernon Place remained a neighborhood of stately townhouses. But, its two newest structures portended change—the Stafford Hotel built in 1894 and the ugly Severn Apartments in 1895 were not single family residences, and they were not to scale. They cast a shadow over nearby residences and detracted from the neighborhood's centerpiece, the Washington Monument. The Municipal Art Society determined to stop any further construction of "skyscrapers." The Directors reported, on December 31, 1900, that they had created a committee "To Urge the Passage of a City Ordinance to Limit the Height of Buildings to be Hereafter Erected Within One Block of Washington Monument." John N. Steele, the Society's Counsel, was named chairman of the committee.³⁸

No historical record has been found of the course of this legislation during the ensuing two years. From today's perspective, however, it would seem that John N. Steele faced three difficulties in having it taken seriously. First, in 1901, there was no new construction going on in Mt. Vernon Place. The threat of change did not seem imminent. Second, the proposal was patently parochial, it only affected four city blocks. It might prove difficult to attract the attention of the Baltimore City Council to such a local problem. Third, the proposed legislation was of very dubious legality. It was a widely accepted constitutional precept of that era that government did not have the power to act for purely aesthetic purposes. These obstacles were to be overcome.

III

Mrs. Robert Garrett and Dr. Henry Barton Jacobs had remained friends in the years since the death of her husband. In April of 1902 they were married; she was 51 years of age and he was 43. They entered into an antenuptial contract, pursuant to which their personal estates were to remain separate (her net worth was then \$200 million); once married, she adopted the name of Mary Frick Jacobs.³⁹

Shortly afterwards, Mrs. Jacobs acquired 7 West Mt. Vernon with a view towards further expansion of 11 West Mt. Vernon. 7 West was demolished and architect John Russell Pope was hired to create an addition. He designed a facade in harmony with the western two-thirds previously designed by Stanford White and created a library, theater, and art gallery, as well as a grand

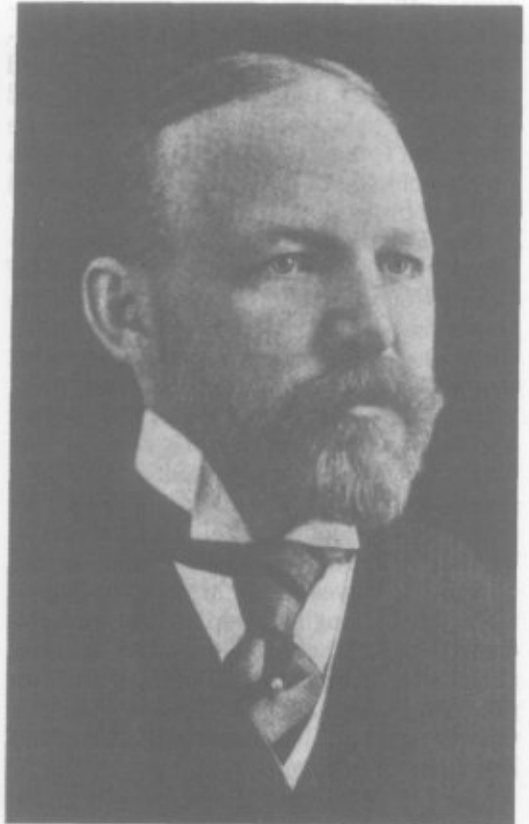


FIGURE 6.
Dr. Henry Barton Jacobs.
Courtesy of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of
Baltimore.
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marble staircase leading down to the supper room.⁴⁰

The resulting mansion, which came to be called the "Garrett-Jacobs House," had 40 rooms and was lavishly appointed. It was the largest and most costly townhouse ever built in Baltimore; estimates of its overall cost range from \$1.5 million to \$6 million.⁴¹ And the Pope addition was the first change to Mt. Vernon Place in the twentieth century. Since Baltimore society had had an opportunity to adjust to "New York Style" brownstones and since Mrs. Jacobs had become the Society's leader, this addition was less controversial than the remodeling of twenty years before. But this addition did remind Mt. Vernon residents that other less desirable changes might be in the offing.

When John N. Steele was made Chairman of the Municipal Art Society's committee to limit building height around Mt. Vernon Place, he was urged to secure passage of a "city ordinance." When the legislation next appears in the historical record on February 27, 1904, it is being considered as state legislation by the Senate of the Maryland General Assembly.⁴² The reason for this change of direction can be guessed at if not proven.

The Baltimore City Council was bicameral. The First Branch consisted of twenty-four members, one from each of the City's wards. From 1900 through 1904, there was a Democratic majority controlled by the Democratic political boss Isaac Freeman Rasin. The Second Branch consisted of four members, one from each of the City's districts. It was presided over by a popularly elected President. The Mayor during that period was Reform Democratic Thomas Hayes. Rasin had a deep-seated hatred for Hayes and, throughout Hayes' term, Rasin sought to embarrass and discredit him.⁴³ Machine Democrats in campaign after campaign had blamed the Republican residents of Mt. Vernon Place for the City's woes. The average Baltimorean had come to believe:

that the folk of Mt. Vernon Place have no hearts, that their one aim in life is to prevent the paving of Fort Avenue, that they wear silk stockings, that they try to hog all the more dignified and remunerative public

offices, that they keep pauper hounds to harass the poor, that they eat nothing but terrapin and drink nothing but champagne.⁴⁴

It is not surprising that the City Council was unresponsive to Steele's lobbying.

Moreover, there was a cogent legal reason for avoiding the City Council. In 1889, the City Council had passed an ordinance which empowered the judges of the Appeal Tax Court to issue building permits. One section of that ordinance provided:

that no permit shall be granted unless in the judgment of the said Judges of the Appeal Tax Court, or a majority of them, the size, general character and appearance of the buildings or buildings to be erected will conform to the general character of the buildings previously erected in the same locality, and will not in any way tend to depreciate the value of surrounding improved or unimproved property.⁴⁵

It was not until 1902, however, that this ordinance was tested in the Maryland Court of Appeals.

A case arose when the Appeals Tax Court, an administrative agency, denied a permit for a building at the northeast corner of Mt. Royal and Maryland Avenues on the grounds that the building did not "conform to the general character of the buildings in the same locality," since it would be used "for the purposes of a 'zoo' . . . to show wild animals . . . upon one of the most beautiful streets in the city of Baltimore."⁴⁶ The Maryland Court of Appeals overturned the permit denial, finding the ordinance void. The Court reasoned that, while the Maryland General Assembly had authorized the City of Baltimore to regulate building from the standpoint of safety and fire protection, it had not authorized the city to pass ordinances which required buildings to conform to the general character of buildings in the neighborhood. This decision created significant doubt as to whether the City had the power to pass an ordinance limiting building heights around Mt. Vernon Place.

It was open season in the Maryland General Assembly, however. Baltimore City's Charter placed no limit on state legislative interference in City affairs. The legislature

had a long tradition and well-established procedures for enacting local legislation. At the 1904 session, 56 percent of the bills enacted were local in nature, applying only to particular localities. By custom, laws for a given locality were enacted by the legislature if supported by the legislative delegation from that locality. And, a contemporaneous report lamented that: "As local bills are now passed, they may or may not be acceptable to the localities affected."⁴⁷ John N. Steele must have recognized that the General Assembly was likely to approve height limitations for Mt. Vernon Place if he received the support of key members of the City delegation.

The bill might never have passed, however, if it had not been for the happenstance of the Baltimore Fire. On February 7, 1904, seventy commercial blocks and 1,545 buildings burned. Control of the fire was complicated by high winds, tall buildings, and low water pressure. The fire raged for thirty hours, approaching, but never reaching, residential neighborhoods, including Mt. Vernon Place.⁴⁸

The fire galvanized Baltimoreans into action. Newly-elected Mayor Robert McLane appointed sixty-three professional and business leaders to a Citizens' Emergency Committee (approximately one-half of the committee members were also members of the Municipal Art Society).⁴⁹ The Committee subdivided into subcommittees, one of which was designated the "Subcommittee on Height of Buildings and Building Laws." The various subcommittees immediately set about considering ordinances to be introduced into the City Council which might facilitate the government's response to fire.

Attorney John E. Semmes was chairman of the Subcommittee on Height of Buildings and Building Laws. Coincidentally, he was the law partner of John N. Steele, the Chairman of the Municipal Art Society's long standing committee on limiting building heights around Mt. Vernon Place. On February 15, 1904, Semmes described his subcommittee's task as follows:

... [i]t is a very difficult point to decide upon. Some cities do not permit buildings any higher than the width of the streets in

which they stand. In Boston, I think buildings are limited to 120 feet. Personally, I think 10 stories under ordinary circumstances, are sufficient for any building. But even though it should be decided not to limit the height of buildings, a still more important thing—the method of their construction will be insisted upon.⁵⁰

On February 17 the subcommittee reported back to the Citizens' Emergency Committee. It found existing building laws and regulations allowed "non-fireproof" buildings to be built to the height of 100 feet. It recommended that non-fireproof buildings be limited in height to 85 feet and that fireproof buildings be limited to 175 feet. (Josias Pennington, an architect and a member of the subcommittee, commented that the height of fireproof buildings had little significance since the danger of fire was practically eliminated. The Citizens' Emergency Committee adopted the report of its subcommittee and on March 1, 1904 an implementing ordinance was introduced in the City Council.⁵¹

While the Building Height Limitations were being hotly debated in the Baltimore City Council,⁵² the proposal before the General Assembly to limit the height of buildings in Mt. Vernon Place was receiving scant attention. The "Anti-Skyscraper Bill" was passed by the Senate on February 27, 1904 and by the House on March 3, 1904.⁵³ And, on March 17, 1904, Governor Warfield signed into law the bill "prohibiting the erection of buildings, other than churches, more than 70 feet high within one block of Washington's Monument in Baltimore." On March 28, 1904, John N. Steele submitted the following report to the Board of the Municipal Art Society:

As Chairman of the Committee on Height of Buildings, I take pleasure in reporting that the bill to limit the height of buildings in the territory bounded by the north side of Centre Street, the east side of Cathedral Street, the south side of Madison Street, and the west side of St. Paul Street to a point not exceeding 70 feet in height above the baseline of the Washington Monument, was passed by the legislature, signed by the Governor and is now law.

The passage of this bill was largely due to the efforts of John N. Gill, Jr. in the Senate

and Mr. J. Charles Linthicum in the House.⁵⁴

Lobbyist Steele had found the influential legislators he needed to secure passage of the bill. Both Gill and Linthicum were Democrats from Baltimore's Third Legislative District, the District in which Mt. Vernon Place was located. While not clearly identified with the reform element, they were politically independent and ambitious. Later, in 1904, Gill successfully ran for Congress and Linthicum, with Gill's support, staged an upset victory to fill Gill's state Senate seat to the chagrin of Boss Isaac Rasin.⁵⁵ Years later, in 1911, Linthicum succeeded to Gill's seat in Congress. Whether their support of the Mt. Vernon Place height limit garnered them support in subsequent elections is unknown. The most obvious reason why they supported the law is because they lived in the neighborhood. Linthicum lived in the 700 block of St. Paul Street at the easterly perimeter of the Place; Gill lived on Charles Street, three blocks north of the squares.

The City Ordinance limiting the height of buildings throughout Baltimore took effect March 18, 1904, one day after the state law took effect.⁵⁶

Even though lawfully enacted, there was still a question as to the effectiveness of the 70 foot height limitation; its constitutionality had not yet been sustained. And John N. Steele, the Counsel of the Municipal Art Society who had been successful in getting the law enacted, would not be available to defend it. He resigned from the Society on April 25, 1906, before moving to New York City to become a General Counsel to the American Smelting & Refining Co. and M. Guggenheim's Sons.⁵⁷ Not long after he left, a test case developed.

Indirectly the fire had brought change to Mt. Vernon Place. Standard Oil Company, burned out of its downtown offices, took temporary quarters in the vacant Greenway Mansion. The mansion had been built by Edward McDonald Greenway in 1835 at 700 Washington Place (the first house constructed on the Place). When Standard Oil moved into its new office building, the mansion was again vacant.⁵⁸ On April 10, 1905, it was sold to William F. Cochran for \$160,000. Cochran, who already owned the

adjoining house at 6 West Mt. Vernon Place, was a New York native who had moved to Baltimore when he married Annie Lorraine Gill in 1902. In explaining the purchase, Cochran said: "a strong desire of property holders on Mt. Vernon Place to control the kind of building to be erected on this site led me to purchase it to prevent anyone from building a skyscraper."⁵⁹

William F. Cochran was a different sort of millionaire. His father had amassed a great fortune as a carpet manufacturer and Cochran found his inherited wealth troubling. He once told a church group at Baltimore's Westminster Church that money made him feel immoral, the joy of abundance mitigated by the sight of people living under opposite conditions. He said: "It seems all wrong. I have come to the point where if a new social order were to be brought about thereby, I would gladly give up my comfortable country home and occupy the humble house of an overseer."⁶⁰ He was a member in good standing of Baltimore Society and an Episcopal Churchman, but throughout his life supported various unpopular causes. Among his charities were the Anti-Saloon League; he also contributed to the Work Alliance of America (the Wobblies), and Norman Thomas, a socialist candidate for President. William F. Cochran was a "Christian Socialist Socialite"—a man devoted to proving that great wealth, a position in Society, and a Christian social consciousness were compatible.

Cochran employed architect Edward H. Glidden, who designed a fashionable Beaux Arts apartment house in the northwest corner of Mt. Vernon Place and Washington Place on Charles Street, which took the address of 700 Washington Place and was called the Washington Apartments. It was built during 1906 at a cost of \$300,000 and had twenty-eight apartments, and twenty-nine rooms designed for use by servants. The structure was six stories, or 69 feet 8 inches in height, just under the legally mandated 70 foot limit.⁶¹

Once the Washington Apartments were completed, Cochran, on March 13, 1907, applied for a "Permit to Build" an additional story upon the roof. It would be set back twenty feet from the building line to be eight feet in height. It was to contain



FIGURE 7.

View of the Washington Monument Looking to the Northwest before construction of the Washington Apartments.

Source: *Baltimore City, The Liverpool of America* (1898).

Courtesy of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore.

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nineteen rooms so as to enlarge the servants' quarters for the apartment. Cochran asserted that it was impossible to derive sufficient revenue to yield a fair return on his investment without the addition. The permit was denied because the addition would have resulted in violation of the Mt. Vernon building height restriction.⁶²

Three quarters of a century later, this turn of events seems curious. Why did Cochran spend \$300,000 on a handsome new structure which he claimed to be economically obsolescent and then immediately seek a permit for its expansion?

Perhaps Cochran was a speculator. When he bought the lot at 700 Washington Place (at a discount due to the height lim-

itation which reduced the potential yield from the property), he may have already had in mind a lawsuit which would constitutionally challenge the limitations and produce a windfall. If this were Cochran's primary goal, however, it seems he would have brought suit prior to the start of construction. The completed six-story Washington Apartments hurt rather than helped the suit by suggesting that the problem was of Cochran's own making. Moreover, this strategy seems inconsistent with everything we know of Cochran's personality. When he bought the property, he publicly announced his commitment to height limits around the squares. It seems unlikely that a man of Cochran's Christian character and

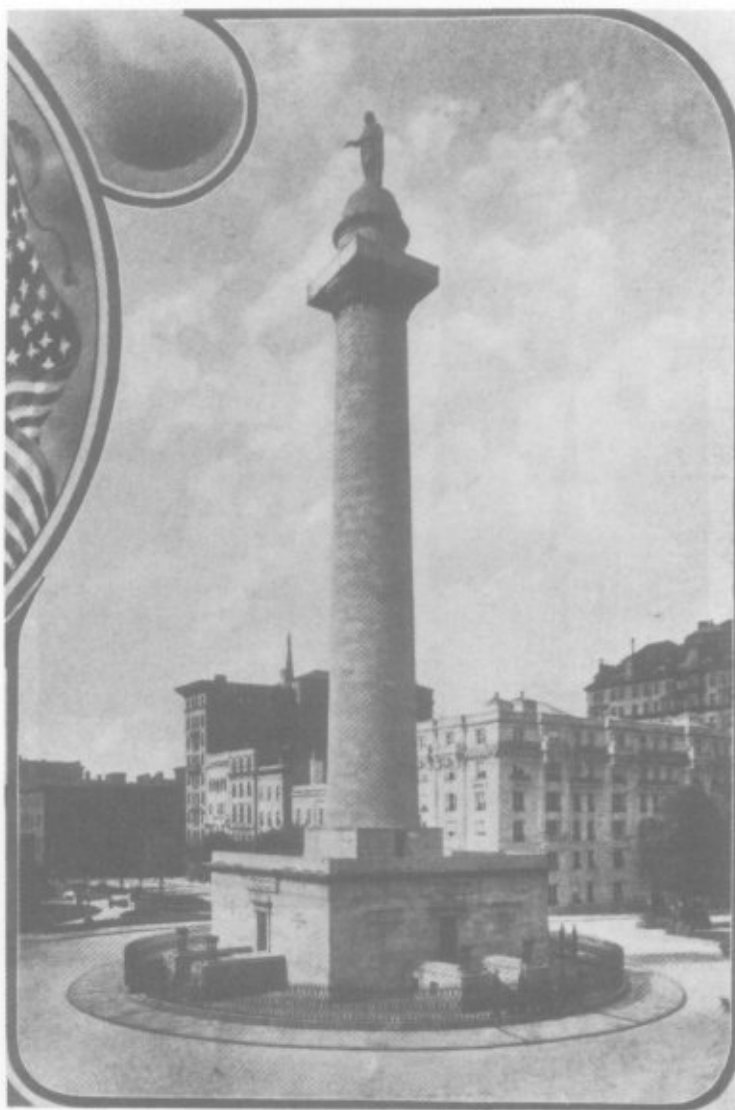


FIGURE 8.

View from the Washington Monument Looking to the Northwest after construction of the Washington Apartments.

Source: *Groeninger's New Baltimore* (1906).

Courtesy of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore.

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social standing would desert his moral rectitude and endanger his position in Baltimore Society in order to turn a quick dollar.

A more likely explanation is that William F. Cochran was recruited by the Municipal Art Society to bring the lawsuit. As previously mentioned, John N. Steele must have had serious doubts concerning the constitutionality of the Mt. Vernon building height limitations. Professor Ernest

Freund, in his authoritative work of 1904, *The Police Power: Public Policy and Constitutional Rights*, had spoken to the question directly:

In America buildings have never been controlled by law with a view to securing beauty or symmetry, whereas such regulations are not unknown in European cities. It may be conceded that the restrictions

imposed rarely inflict actual damage, nevertheless they constitute a substantial impairment of the right of property, and the maintenance of an official standard of beauty would not easily be recognized under our theory of constitutional law as a sufficient warrant for the exercise of the police power.⁶³

Moreover, the Maryland Court of Appeals, in its 1902 decision in *Bostock v. Sams*, had intimated that when regulating the construction of buildings, the State's regulatory powers were limited to providing for the public safety, safeguarding the health or morals of the community, and preserving the public order.⁶⁴ Hence, a case was needed to test whether the 70 foot height limitations could pass constitutional muster in the Maryland high court.

From the perspective of the Municipal Art Society there were significant advantages to having the test case brought by a friendly plaintiff. The obvious litigation strategy was to attempt to justify the height limitation as a fire control measure within the traditional concept of the police power. Whether the statute was intended to assist in the control of fires is a question of fact. The plaintiff and the defendant together have control over the facts which the reviewing court will consider.

Justification of the Mt. Vernon building height limitation as a fire control measure had a certain superficial plausibility. It was indisputably the case that the bill had been passed by the Maryland General Assembly in the immediate aftermath of the Baltimore Fire; it was enacted by both houses less than one month thereafter. Moreover, there is an obvious relationship between building heights and fire control: the taller the building the more difficult the control. On the other hand, the statute had been conceived several years before the fire by the Municipal Art Society with a view toward preserving the aesthetic of the Place. Since the 70 foot height limit was measured from the base of the Washington Monument, buildings downhill from the Monument could be many stories higher than those atop the hill. For example, a building erected at the corner of St. Paul and Centre Streets (the lowest elevation within the regulated district) might lawfully be built

to the height of 120 feet. In addition, the Baltimore City Council had passed a comprehensive ordinance limiting the height of buildings on March 18, 1904 (just one day after the Governor signed the Mt. Vernon bill into law). This ordinance applied city-wide and distinguished between non-fireproof and fireproof buildings; nonfireproof buildings were limited to 85 feet in height, while fireproof buildings were limited to 175 feet. It is hard to conceive of any special justification for more stringent height limitations around Mt. Vernon Place. Hence, if the Mt. Vernon law was intended as a fire control measure, it seems erratic and arbitrary.

The Municipal Art Society was in a position to offer Cochran something in return for his institution of a test case. The six-story apartment house which Cochran had under construction was an architecturally handsome addition to the square; even with a seventh story added (according to the plans which Cochran proposed) the resulting structure would blend harmoniously with its surroundings. The Municipal Art Society might offer to support Cochran in his efforts to obtain a variance from the statute's application in return for Cochran undertaking a test case which would sustain the constitutionality of the building height limitations. If all worked out, both sides would win. The Municipal Art Society would have a statute preserving the character of Mt. Vernon Place and William F. Cochran would be permitted to construct the additional floor on the Washington Apartments.

Too many years have passed to determine whether William F. Cochran and the Municipal Art Society colluded to sustain the constitutionality of the Mt. Vernon height limitation ordinance. The case arose on a petition for a mandamus against the Inspector of Buildings, Edward D. Preston, to require him to issue Cochran a building permit in the Court of Common Pleas of Baltimore City. Judge Henry Stockbridge, a member of the Municipal Art Society, heard the case sitting as judge and jury; no testimony was taken, but an agreement of counsel was reached, whereby the facts in the plaintiff's petition were accepted as true. The petition alleged that the entire

purpose of prohibition of erection of buildings over 70 feet was "to carry out certain artistic conceptions of the Legislature which in no way involved the safety, health or the welfare of the public . . . ;" the petition made no mention of the facts that the prohibition had been conceived by the Municipal Art Society to preserve the aesthetic value of Mt. Vernon Place or of the comprehensive building code which limited the height of fireproof and nonfireproof buildings throughout the City. Judge Stockbridge dismissed Cochran's petition on May 16, 1907.⁶⁵

On July 5, 1907, William F. Cochran filed an Order of Appeal with the Maryland Court of Appeals.⁶⁶ While that appeal was pending, Cochran joined the Municipal Art Society. The Minutes for November 19, 1907 note that he was elected to membership. At that same meeting, the Society's Board of Directors took the following action:

the question of changing the law regulating the height of buildings to be erected in proximity of the Washington Monument was considered and, after a full discussion, on motion duly seconded, it was resolved that this Society recommend a change of height limit of buildings to 80 feet, in place of the 70 feet that is now covered by this said law.⁶⁷

The appeal was heard by the Maryland Court of Appeals at its 1908 April Term. The Court affirmed the decision below with the conclusory determination that the statute "was no doubt passed" to protect against "the increased danger from fire attendant" to tall buildings.⁶⁸ In a fanciful aside, the Court explained the reasonableness of measuring the height limitation from the base of the Washington Monument, the highest point within the district.

. . . [V]ery tall buildings on the highest part of the ground would be more difficult to deal with in case of fire than such buildings lower down. . . . By opening from the higher portion of ground, water might be thrown on tall buildings further down the hill, and reach the top, while the tops of buildings of the same height on the higher ground would be wholly out of the reach of the fire apparatus.⁶⁹

Hence it came to pass, on June 24, 1908, that the Act of 1904, ch. 42, which prohibited the erection of buildings exceeding seventy feet in height in proximity to the Washington Monument was found to be constitutional.

This 70 foot statute continues in effect today;⁷⁰ the Washington Apartments remain six stories; an additional floor was never added. A question remains as to whatever became of the Municipal Art Society's undertaking to have the limit raised to 80 feet. Despite diligent search, no record has been found of either a city ordinance or an act of the General Assembly raising the height limit to 80 feet; indeed, it seems logically impossible for the height limit to be effectively raised so long as the 70 foot limitation continues in force. A minor mystery derives from the fact that various secondary sources suggest that the height limitation was raised to 80 feet.⁷¹ The source of this confusion seems to be Warren Wilmer Brown's 1929 pamphlet *The Municipal Art Society of Baltimore City: Its Aims and Accomplishments*. Therein he states:

. . . the Society, twenty-five years ago, was also interested in . . . the regulation of building heights. John N. Steele was the Chairman of that committee and as such he recommended the passage of a Bill to regulate the height of all buildings in the territory bounded by Centre, Cathedral, Madison and St. Paul Streets to a point not over 70 feet above the baseline of Washington's Monument. *Several years later the height was raised to 80 feet.*⁷²

Apparently Mr. Brown lost sight of the fact that the Municipal Art Society could not enact legislation, only recommend it.

With the 70 foot height limitation constitutionality in place, the threat to Mt. Vernon Place became commercial intrusions rather than tall buildings. The razing of residences to make way for institutional buildings was, of course, nothing new. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Charles Howard's mansion had been demolished to make room for the Mt. Vernon Place Methodist Church, and George Peabody's Institute had razed two residences at the southeast corner of the Monument to construct a concert hall and li-

brary. And this institutionalization process continued on into the twentieth century when Henry Walters, who lived at 5 West Mt. Vernon, bought the four residences southwest of the Monument at 600-606 Washington Place to build the Walters Art Gallery. Henry Walters was a reclusive magnate who owned most of the railroads of the Southern United States; he had inherited the business, and a love of art, from his father, William Walters. Together they had acquired one of the largest private art collections in the country.⁷³

Henry Walters had purchased the four structures by 1903; but following the Baltimore Fire of 1904, he allowed them to be used to provide needed office space, so they were not torn down until 1905. The Gallery designed by Warren Delano (Walters' brother-in-law and Franklin Delano Roosevelt's uncle) was completed in 1909. It was periodically opened to the public and when Walters died in 1931 he left both gallery and collection with an endowment to the City of Baltimore.⁷⁴

The office space shortage resulting from the Baltimore Fire created pressures for other commercial intrusions into Mt. Vernon Place. With John N. Steele having left Baltimore for New York to serve as General Counsel for the American Smelting & Refining Co., there was no obvious spokesman in the Municipal Art Society for preservation of the Place. Henry Barton Jacobs filled this void.

Dr. Jacobs had become a member of the Municipal Art Society shortly after he married Mary Frick Garrett in 1902. He had served on the Committees on Exhibition and Lectures, but had not otherwise been active in the Society.⁷⁵ He was kept busy with his extensive travel and charitable work, particularly as president of the Hospital for Consumptives of Maryland. Meanwhile, Mrs. Jacobs had continued her endless remodeling of 11 West Mt. Vernon Place. In 1913, she demolished the stables, and built an art gallery and glass domed conservatory on the site. In 1915, she acquired 13 West Mt. Vernon Place from Henry P. Janes (they had not been on speaking terms since the 1885 lawsuit), and tore down the rear of that building so as to provide closet space and light to the west

side of 11 West Mt. Vernon Place. The light filtered through Tiffany windows on the spiral staircase.⁷⁶ One report has evangelist Billy Sunday staying in what was left of 13 West Mt. Vernon Place in 1916, while he led his crusade to save Baltimore's sinners from perdition.⁷⁷

In 1915, Dr. Jacobs stepped out of his drawing room and into the political fray. He appeared before the Baltimore City Board of Estimates at City Hall and warned that Mt. Vernon Place would eventually become a business district if appropriate steps were not taken.⁷⁸ For the next twenty-five years Henry Barton Jacobs was to be the spokesman for the preservation of Mt. Vernon Place.

His preservation efforts got off to a good start. In 1916, the City hired Thomas Hastings, of the New York firm of Carrere and Hastings, to re-landscape the squares. Marble balustrades, a new fountain, and an ornamental stairway were installed in the southern square at a cost of \$80,000.⁷⁹

Over the long term, however, Dr. Jacobs was destined to fight a holding action. The advent of the automobile made suburban living practical; autos roared around the Washington Monument, through the heart of Mt. Vernon Place, on their way to the outlands. Baltimore's grandest residential neighborhood entered a period of seemingly inexorable decline. Old families moved away and boarding houses and businesses replaced them.

In 1923, a restaurant was proposed at 702 Cathedral Street. Dr. Jacobs appeared before the Board of Estimates in opposition. A compromise was reached permitting the restaurant but limiting the exterior lighting. Dr. Jacobs got in the last word in a Letter to the Editor of the Baltimore Sun:

It must be the aim of the State, the City, and every inhabitant to guard and preserve these squares. The City has ample room for extension of its business district. Shall it not be the care of all these to see that these quiet spots shall be passed by and allowed to remain the peaceful abiding place of the great Washington, standing so majestically when he overlooked the City which honored him so highly?⁸⁰

In 1924, the newly formed Baltimore Museum of Art established temporary quarters

on the edge of Mt. Vernon Place at the southwest corner of Monument and Cathedral Street in what had previously been the home of Miss Mary Garrett, Robert Garrett's sister. In 1919, Mayor James Preston had proposed that the City purchase the Jencks House and adjoining mansion at 3 West Mt. Vernon Place for the Museum's home, but these plans were scrapped out of concern that Henry Walters might object to another museum next door and refuse to leave his collection to the City. The Museum hung out Mt. Vernon Place's first sign, in foot high letters, "Museum of Art." Dr. Jacobs, who later served as its President, was instrumental in the Museum's 1929 move to Wyman Park to a permanent facility designed by John Russell Pope (the sometime architect for 11 West Mt. Vernon Place). The question then arose as to what should become of the townhouse which the Museum vacated. A 12 story apartment was proposed (the site was across Cathedral Street from the restricted district).⁸¹ At a hearing on the question, a Mt. Vernon resident lamented that the Place had "degenerated into a runway for dogs, a gathering place for night hawks, and that apartment houses would be preferable to cheap rooming houses."⁸² The apartment house was built.

In 1939, Henry Barton Jacobs was eighty-one years of age. He still resided at 11 West Mt. Vernon Place. Mrs. Jacobs had left the property to him, along with its contents and an annuity of \$100,000, when she died in 1936.⁸³ In 1939 yet another commercial intrusion threatened Mt. Vernon Place. The home of William Whitridge, at 604 Cathedral Street, was to be razed to make way for a parking lot. This time Dr. Jacobs failed to rise to the occasion. The *Evening Sun*, for November 23, 1939 headlined: "Dr. Jacobs Ill, Can't Aid in Parking Lot Fight," "Will not go with other residents of Mt. Vernon Place to Protest Demolition of Whitridge Home."⁸⁴ Dr. Jacobs died December 18, 1939 and the parking lot was built.

Dr. Jacobs left an estate of \$500,000. A year after his death, 11 West Mt. Vernon Place was sold for \$36,000 at public action to William Cook, who wished to use it as a funeral parlor. The funeral parlor was not

permitted under the City's zoning laws, but the price was symptomatic of the decline of Mt. Vernon Place. Baltimore's "largest and most magnificent townhouse," completed in 1902 in Baltimore's best neighborhood at a cost in excess of \$1.5 million was sold 38 years later for 2.4 percent of that cost. Cook shortly thereafter resold the mansion to the Boumi Temple for \$45,500. Mt. Vernon Place was still a lady, but an aging and infirm dowager.

One proposal to improve the Place's circumstances was to repeal the 70 foot height limitation. In 1940, the Mt. Vernon Improvement Association supported such a proposal, reasoning that tall apartments were preferable to vacant, boarded-up and decaying townhouses.⁸⁵ Theodore Marburg, who had founded the Municipal Art Society and lived at 14 West Mt. Vernon Place since 1897, refused to give ground, however. He argued that tall buildings would destroy the beauty and charm of "a place unique in this country." He went on to recollect:

after the Severn was erected the Municipal Art Society was instrumental in getting through a law which prohibited the erection of buildings on Mt. Vernon Place or Washington Square of a greater height than 80 [sic] feet above the baseline of Washington Monument.⁸⁶

There is some irony in the rebuttal offered by Harry O. Levine, Chairman of the State Tax Commission. He argued for repeal of the height limit as an antidote to "the sharp decline in property value, a decline shown last week in the sale of the Henry Barton Jacobs Mansion for 22% of its assessment."⁸⁷ Dr. Jacobs must have turned in his grave.

The height limit was not repealed, but a greater threat to the integrity of Mt. Vernon Place was yet to come. Following World War II, the City considered plans for urban renewal. Mayor Theodore McKeldin appointed a special architects' committee to recommend improvements for Mt. Vernon Place. The committee reported back in 1945. It proposed that the four block Mt. Vernon District be dedicated to public or semi-public uses.⁸⁸

The southwest block (bounded by Cathedral, Centre, Washington Place, and West

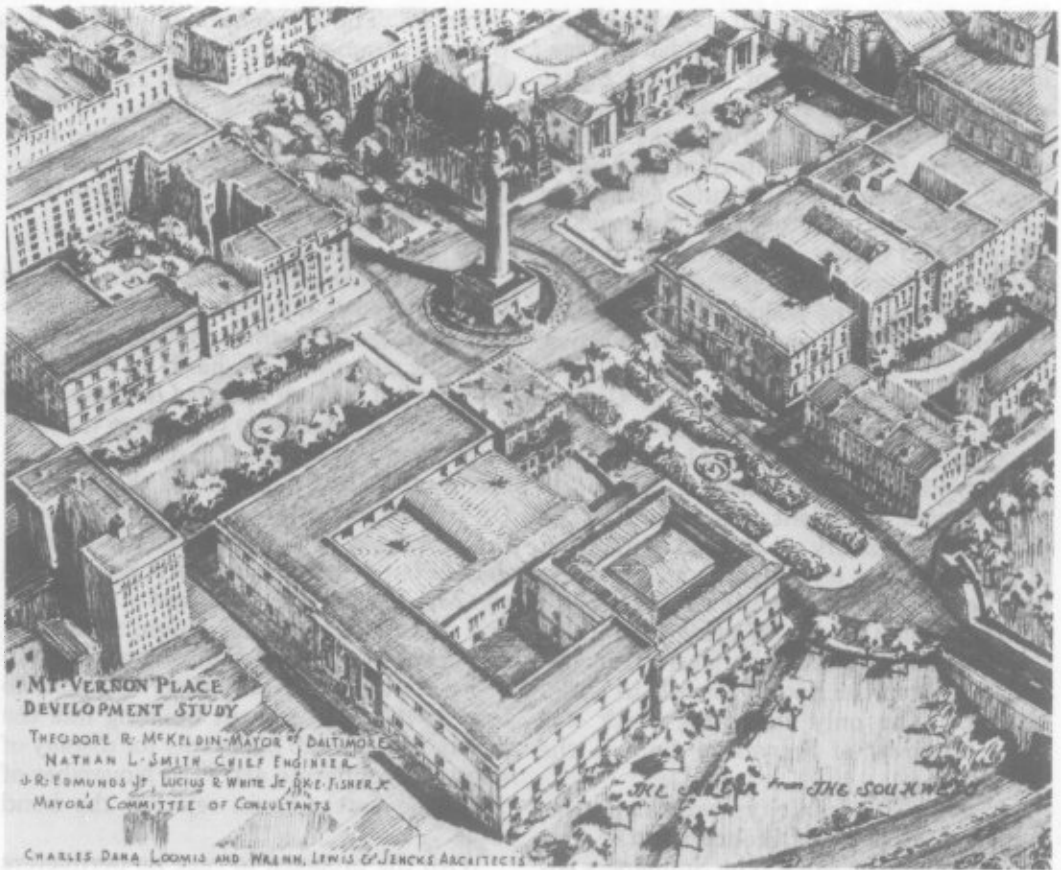


FIGURE 9.

Rendering of Plan for the Development of Mt. Vernon Place, 1946.

Courtesy of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore.

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Mt. Vernon Place) would all be taken over by an expanded Walters Art Gallery, except for the Jencks House (1 West Mt. Vernon), which would be acquired by the City and maintained as the Mayor's Mansion. All other residences would be demolished, including the Garrett-Jacobs Mansion.

The Boumi Temple, having been evicted by the Walters' expansion, would be encouraged to build a new structure in the northwest block (bounded by Cathedral, Madison, Washington Place, and West Mt. Vernon Place). The Washington Apartments would remain, but all other structures, including the Stafford and the top-heavy Severn, would come down.⁸⁹

On the northeast block (bounded by Washington Place, Madison, St. Paul, and East Mt. Vernon Place), the Mt. Vernon Place Methodist Church would be joined

by a new building housing the Maryland Institute, the Red Cross, and a large hotel.⁹⁰

Rounding out the plan, the Peabody Institute would consume the southeast block (bounded by Washington Place, East Mt. Vernon Place, St. Paul, and Centre), with a student hostel and recreation area.⁹¹ The plan also called for acquisition by the City of rows of houses east of St. Paul Street facing to the east arm of the square. A large parking garage would be built on the site and topped with an 8000 seat auditorium and "little theatre." Walkways across St. Paul Street would connect the complex to Mt. Vernon Place.⁹²

Essentially, the plan called for saving Mt. Vernon Place by destroying its nineteenth-century houses. Fortunately, it was only implemented in a faltering fashion. When Mrs. Francis M. Jencks died in 1953, the

City acquired 1 West Mt. Vernon Place from her estate.⁹³ The City condemned residential property east of St. Paul Street with a view toward constructing the parking lot and civic auditorium; the houses were razed but the auditorium was never built. The Peabody Institute eventually constructed a Dormitory at the corner of St. Paul and Centre Streets (Edward Durrell Stone, architect, 1969), reluctantly leaving in place the residences fronting on Washington Place and East Mt. Vernon Place.⁹⁴

Expansion of the Walters Art Gallery was the key to the complete realization of the plan. Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., the City Planning Commission, and Phillip B. Perleman, President of the Board of the Walters Art Gallery all favored demolition of the residences on the south side of West Mt. Vernon Place, save the Jencks House, and expansion of the Walters.⁹⁵ In 1958, the City had acquired the Garrett-Jacobs Mansion from the Boumi Temple in anticipation.⁹⁶ The only stumbling block was voter approval of a loan to finance the expansion.

In 1958, a publicity campaign was launched. Most debate concerned the proposed demolition work. The Sunpapers editorialized in favor of razing and expansion. The Mayor's Mt. Vernon Place Architectural Advisory Commission issued a report, on June 29, 1958, restating the goal of making Mt. Vernon Place a "cultural center." It recognized that:

How much of the American architectural heritage can be retained by what standards the decision to retain or demolish a building can be made, and finally the question of financing the rehabilitation and maintenance of architectural monuments are difficult questions.⁹⁷

It recommended demolition since the cost of converting existing buildings to museum use would be "prohibitive." Likewise, Richard H. Howland, President of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, approved demolition of the Garrett-Jacobs Mansion on grounds that it was really a second-rate Stanford White; a better example of White's work existed in Baltimore on the southeast corner of St. Paul and Preston

Streets.⁹⁸ The conventional wisdom was perhaps summed up in a letter to the Editor of the *Baltimore Sun* of April 12, 1958:

Barring use by the Walters Gallery, the block has no future and it is good luck for the City, and the square, that Walters can effect expansion in that direction.⁹⁹

In November of 1958, the voters defeated the proposed bond issue. The electorate's cause was penuriousness, not preservation.

Public proposals die hard. In 1960, the Walters Art Gallery renewed its request for a \$4 million bond issue to enlarge the Gallery. The City Board of Estimates agreed and replaced the question on the ballot.¹⁰⁰ On this occasion there was a voice of dissent. Douglas H. Gordon, sometime President of both the Municipal Art Society and the Mt. Vernon Improvement Association and descendant of John Hanson Thomas, who had built 1 West Mt. Vernon Place in 1850, stated: "it is absolutely unsound to tear down a magnificent building like the Jacobs Mansion to make way for display of a lot of second-rate art."¹⁰¹ In November of 1960, the voters again rejected the bond issue.

With the proposal to raze its perimeters at last put to rest, the fortunes of Mt. Vernon Place dramatically improved. In 1962, the City sold the Garrett-Jacobs Mansion to the Engineers Club for \$155,000—the same price the City had paid in 1958.¹⁰² The Engineers Club of Baltimore restored the Mansion at a cost of \$1 million and today it is actively used for meetings and conferences. In 1963, the City sold 1 West Mt. Vernon Place to Harry Lee Gladding for \$100,000. He impeccably restored the Thomas-Jencks-Gladding House for use as a private residence and periodically opens it up for public viewing. These sales spurred a resurgence of interest in the Mt. Vernon neighborhood. Middle class professionals returned, often restoring townhouses converted into apartments, living in one and letting the remainder. Real estate values climbed. In 1980, for example, 12 West Mt. Vernon Place (the Alexander Gordon House, circa 1830), which had been converted into five apartments, was sold for \$385,000.¹⁰³

IV

This detailed history of four city blocks over one hundred and fifty years provides some surprising insights into the role of government in planning for and regulating the use of land. Mt. Vernon Place today is the centerpiece of a healthy and resurgent downtown neighborhood; it is a beautiful urban park and statuary garden surrounded by stately nineteenth-century houses. It has been preserved both because of, and despite, government efforts to influence its use.

Mt. Vernon Place was not the creation of public-spirited land planners. It was a speculative subdivision intended to turn a profit for private developers. The developers took their profit as Baltimore's professional and merchant aristocracy came to live there. These residents prevailed upon city and state government to promote and protect their neighborhood, sometimes at the expense of others. Public funds were used to erect a wrought iron railing around the squares to exclude "common children" at plan, and to commission works of art which made the squares a beautiful statuary garden. "Special Interest" legislation was procured which protected their insular neighborhood from physical change and from the wrong sort of newcomers.

Hence, the parties involved in the development of Mt. Vernon Place had selfish motivations. When petitioning government for assistance, their rationalizations sometimes spoke of the commonwealth, but their actions were consistently designed to feather their own nest. There was no altruism here.

A cynical view of the neighbors' motivation does not diminish the magnitude of their accomplishment. If "anti-skyscraper" legislation had not been enacted, many of Mt. Vernon Place's residences would have been torn down to make way for more "efficient" uses. The residential character and architectural heritage of the Place would have been lost. In the long term, selfish pursuits and the public welfare have proved complementary.

Architect Daniel H. Burnham once said, "Make no little plans, they have no magic

to stir men's blood." Once the rich and famous had moved away, Baltimore's planners determined to follow Burnham's advice. They proposed to demolish most of the residences surrounding the squares to make way for museums, hotels, theatres, and office space. This plan received the almost unanimous support of politicians, forces of good government, newspapers, and historic preservation groups. Absent such renewal, the conventional wisdom was that the neighborhood would suffer inexorable deterioration and decline. The plan was defeated, at referendum, when a "know-nothing" electorate refused to approve a necessary bond issue.

From today's perspective, the plan for renewing Mt. Vernon Place is unthinkable. The ensuing three decades have witnessed dramatic changes in economics and taste. New construction is more expensive than rehabilitation; urban living is again fashionable; and, almost everyone agrees that fine nineteenth-century architecture is a heritage worth saving. Mt. Vernon Place townhouses have been adapted for use by clubs and organizations, and converted into apartments. The neighborhood is economically healthy and aesthetically intact. This experience suggests a caveat to Burnham's adage. It may better serve the public to "Make no plans at all."

Hence Mt. Vernon Place owes its existence to passage of legislation designed to promote the selfish interests of Baltimore's aristocrats and to the rejection of a plan designed to serve the public interest. But, in any case, there is a happy ending. Dr. Henry Barton Jacobs had it right when he said:

The present residents of these squares will pass away. Their interest will cease, but the squares if preserved, and the Monument, will live on through countless generations, still the pride of all Baltimoreans.¹⁰⁴

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In Pursuit of Booth Once More: A New Claimant Heard From

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

IT WAS THE BIGGEST MAN HUNT IN OUR history—the most publicized, the most multifarious, the most pondered and controverted. It remains so today, one hundred and nineteen years later.¹ Yet for an event of such magnitude, spewing in its wake so many decades of print and oratory, it was encompassed and brought to completion in a remarkably short period of time. Abraham Lincoln was shot at Ford's Theatre, Washington, on Good Friday evening, April 14, 1865, and died the next day. By July 7 four of the principal conspirators had been hanged and four consigned to prison. Just two months, two weeks, to bring to settlement one of the most ramified episodes in American annals!

During that brief passage of time all sorts and conditions of people, from all over the landscape, had hallooed after or reported upon the perpetrators, had claimed all sorts of accomplishments for their endeavors, and had strenuously put their claims in for appropriate recognition and/or reward. Over the years many such claimants have had their merits exhaustively evaluated (if rarely to unanimous acceptance). But not this one. This one has almost always been relegated to the scholar's footnote or the journalist's passing aside, and as a result remains largely unknown even to assassination addicts.² Yet this claimant had been a legitimate actor in the great melodrama. Who was he?

Well, one pro-Confederate woman saw him this way:

He was vindictive, cunning, and ambitious, repelled with warmth any claim to being considered a gentleman, and yet, strange to

say, was by no means devoid of some generous inspirations; for I have known him to perform acts of great magnanimity and generosity. Stanton was his patron, to whom he seemed bound by strong ties. So it will be readily seen that he neither feared God nor man, and that William P. Wood, Abraham Lincoln, and the Emperor of Russia were the most irresponsible absolute despots on earth.³

The first-named despot's "despotism" lay in the fact that he was Superintendent of the Federal penitentiary in Washington called the Old Capitol (including its dependency, Carroll Place or prison). Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, an acquaintance of some years, had ensconced William Patrick Wood (c. 1824–1903) in that post early in the war and was, all things considered, pleased with his performance.⁴

In addition, Alexandria-born "Colonel" Wood had not only brought off certain confidential missions into the Confederacy at the Secretary's behest but had also, since October, 1864, been assigned as his primary task the rounding up of "koniackers," a term Wood said meant "by American interpretation counterfeiters."⁵ "At this time," he recalled, "it was currently reported that about one-tenth of the money in circulation was counterfeit." Hence it was that, on the date of Lincoln's murder, our prison warden was out in Ohio on the business assigned.

There, at Cincinnati, on Monday, April 17, Wood received a telegram from Assistant Secretary of State Dana. Its message was concise: "Come back at once."⁶ (As of this date five of the conspirators had already been rounded up.) Wood complied, reaching the capital on the 19th. "Arriving

Dr. Davis's article on Belle Boyd appeared in the Spring 1983 issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

in Washington, I was informed by the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton that there was no clue to the assassin Booth, and the Honorable Secretary desired me to get on his track."⁷ Some four days earlier, about April 15, Stanton had been just as peremptory with another individual of quasi-military status who was also temporarily out of town.

This was Lafayette Curry Baker, a native of western New York and of about the same age (born 1825) as Wood. Baker had entered government as a kind of general-assignment detective for the Department of State, under Seward. When his services terminated there early in 1862, he moved over to the War Department at Stanton's invitation, where he became known as its Provost-Marshall and eventually got the quasi-complimentary commission of Colonel.⁸ Ere long he was put at the head of a novelty labelled the National Detective Police,⁹ the most eye-catching element of which were four élite companies of cavalry he dubbed his Rangers. They had their stamping-grounds at Camp Baker, a half mile or so east of the Capitol and within sight of Wood's bailiwick, the Old Capitol Prison. The chief Ranger's good relations with his President ensured his minions' sporting the finest equipment, and from time to time Baker would send them cantering off against Mosby's men, just to keep in fettle. They constituted, according to their boss' biographer, "one of the most remarkable organizations ever to ride roughshod over the liberties of Americans."¹⁰ Subordinates saw to it that their leader could buckle a costly saber around his waist and bedeck himself with an impressive sash. They gave him a silver medallion to hang 'round his neck bearing the legend, "Death to Traitors." By the spring of 1864 Lafe Baker was riding high. European newspapers were beginning to tag him as the second Fouché. And American congressmen were beginning to have more than enough of him.

So when Secretary Stanton sicked Wood onto Booth's traces, the prison Super probably foresaw the competition he might expect from that slouching operative with the small, deep-set eyes, finger-drumming nervousness, and congenitally "restless urge to ride into battle against the enemy

single-handed."¹¹ (In this particular battle Baker would not go by his lonesome, because Stanton had given him virtual *carte blanche* as to men and accoutrements.) Wood also knew that his own trek into the target area, Southern Maryland, would be strewn with occasional brambles. This was owing to an Administration project going back to the early Sixties: a scheme for deporting a certain percentage of Maryland Negroes in a colonization endeavor. Therein a key figure was that "magician of confusion," the *New York Tribune* feature writer and loud-mouthed proponent of John Brown, abolitionist James Redpath. Redpath, who was representing the Haitian government in the business, had gained the ear of Lincoln. The President referred him to Wood, and in due course the latter was able to say, "I aided Mr. Redpath, a Boston abolitionist, to liberate and send off over one thousand Maryland slaves to Liberia." Two ships were secured at Boston and "were fitted up for the purpose of taking the Maryland slaves to Liberia; they were so [thus] loaded with slaves and embarked for Liberia. . . ."¹²

In Southern Maryland this action promptly evoked very positive reaction. Now, Wood himself was basically sympathetic to the protestors. He knew the Old Line State fairly well, and was married to a Cumberland girl (the former Mary Elizabeth Smith). He would indeed go on record as follows:

The State of Maryland was constant in her loyalty to the Union. Yet the robberies, persecutions and indignities put upon many of her people, especially the residents of Prince George's, Charles, and St. Mary's counties, have scarcely a parallel in infamy, emanating [*sic*] from issues growing out of our fratricidal war. In the Maryland counties named, personal property, farm products, farming stock and negroes were destroyed and stolen by those who represented our Government. Between military despotism and the outcrop of vandalized terrorism then prevailing, together with the thievery and destructive practices perpetrated upon the citizens of this section of Maryland, is [*sic*] without parallel in the atrocities of our civil war.¹³

But as a youngster Billy Wood had also



FIGURE 1. William Patrick Wood.
Aged about 50 Years.
Washington, D.C. *Sunday Star*.
31 October 1926, Part 5 (p. 3).

witnessed a “barbaric exhibit” that “ever after fixed in the mind of the writer a detestation of every proviso, law or sectional compromise, that countenanced or attempted to perpetuate human slavery, or tolerated ownership in mankind.” The “exhibit” was as follows:

During the term of the Presidency of General Andrew Jackson [1829–1837], a prominent Marylander left his state, taking with him his household effects and negro slaves, intending to make his residence in one of the cotton states. On the route to his future home his outfit passed along First Street, East Washington, which ran parallel with the then Capitol yard enclosure. The negro women, consisting of house and farm hands and their children, occupied wagons; the men and large boys followed in the rear of the caravan, chained together in pairs, with a chain running through the squad of slaves, which was fastened to the tail end of the rear wagon. These people had committed no crime, but the laws then in force in the state of Maryland and the District of Columbia gave the

right to convey this merchantable property wherever it could be used best for the advantage of the master. It was a singular route for this slave owner to select, immediately in front of the national Capitol of a republic whose Declaration of Independence sets forth that all men are created equal. To the critical observer it was evident the owner took this public route to make a conspicuous parade of his *property*, displaying the bombastic style of the arrogant slave owners, no doubt premeditated as a taunt to their opponents, showing that they would exercise their *legal* right to chain the slaves together as a better security for their transportation. . . .¹⁴

Because of such divided sympathies some local people retained a settled animosity against this Virginia-born, but anti-slavery, government official—and an adherent of the growing Republican Party to boot (though not of its radical wing). Wood was not above recording the language of one of them, from the Port Tobacco area of Charles County:

The slave owners of Maryland knew you done [*sic*] the bidding of Secretary Stanton, and they also know that infernal abolitionist, James Redpath, acted with you at the instance of "Old Abe." It was through your agencies that the slaves were enticed and abducted from their masters' homes to Washington, where you kept them under military protection until Redpath went to Boston and procured ships to take the Maryland negroes to Liberia.¹⁵

So, notwithstanding Wood's lack of a gallery of admirers in Southern Maryland—where his very horse was well known as far afield as Leonardtown¹⁶—when his imperious patron, the Honorable Secretary, said go, Wood went.

But, first, "I informed him that there was a Miss [Olivia] Jenkins, who was imprisoned in the 'Old Capitol Prison,' whom it would be necessary to release to facilitate the desired success. I was verbally directed to take her to her father, Zaddock Jenkins, then residing in Prince George's county, Maryland."¹⁷ This was John Zaddock Jenkins, reared in Alexandria but now settled at "Burches Venture" homestead in Prince George's,¹⁸ locally influential Unionist, brother to her whom fate would designate as the first woman ever to be hanged by the United States Government, the forty-two-year-old widow, Mary Elizabeth Surratt. Mrs. Surratt dwelt at 541 (now 604) H Street, Northwest, near the corner of Sixth, in an old-fashioned house with a high porch. At least two plays have dramatized her story, and the mystique that has risen 'round her name extends well into the Nineteen-Eighties.¹⁹

Enter, now, Stanton's other special-assignment Colonel. Wood continues:

Being possessed of ample directions [directives?] and powers, L. C. Baker called upon me, and informed me he had also been away from Washington at the time of the assassination, and was not posted as to the surroundings [circumstances?] of the supposed guilty parties; that he did not want the New York [police] officers or any outside party to succeed to the arrest of the assassins; further stating that he knew I was posted as to the parties and the surroundings, as well as the adjacent country, and that we should work together; that all he desired was the newspaper credit; adding

that he would remain in Washington to take advantage and give directions to any favorable probability which might lead to success; further requesting me to communicate with him directly to enable more speedy and effectual operations. I refused to communicate directly with Baker, as by so doing it would tend to make me appear as a subordinate, which was not the fact; but I informed him that I would communicate to Judge L. C. Turner²⁰ all reliable information as promptly as it should be obtained, and that he could be advised of my operations by calling on that officer. Upon consultation with Baker, I employed Messrs. Wallace Kirby, A[quilla] R. Allen, and B[ernard] Adamson to accompany me.²¹

I took Miss Jenkins with me to her father's house [presumably on Friday, April 21]. Her father was at the time in custody at old Robey's grocery.²² I went to the grocery and conversed with Zaddock Jenkins, who gave me such particulars as warranted me in the belief that I was on the track of Booth.

I received this information upon a promise that I would endeavor to prevent the execution of his sister, Mrs. Surratt (whom he believed to be innocent). The next morning (Saturday) Lloyd, the tavern keeper at Surrattsville,²³ gave me additional important facts, as did also Dr. Mudd, and this information I compiled and forwarded to Washington by courier on Sunday morning [April 23] about daylight.²⁴

Wood's claim to his fair share of the reward money—as of April 20 the War Department was offering \$100,000—must be deemed as hinging upon "this information." Its despatch to the department may be tracked in two messages from the field plus a recapitulation from his Old Capitol headquarters. The messages were sent from Bryantown, Charles County, some few hours apart on April 23 to Judge Advocate Turner. His first communiqué, four pages long, with "no time to correct . . . blunders in writing," advised in part as follows—that after interrogating Zaddock Jenkins, the party pushed on shortly after 3 A.M. the following morning, April 22:

... before sunrise we were at Gabriel Thompsons house; his son George Thompson (a boy of about 14 or 16 years) informed

me that the parties supposed to be Booth & Harold [*sic*] passed him on the night of the murder [April 14], that his fathers cart or conveyance had broken down in the road and he was there waiting for his fathers return with another conveyance, that there was a black man now in the employ of Dr. Blankford (or Blanchard)²⁵ named Henry Butler who was with him at the time the two men passed and that he held conversation with them, so the effect that if any persons should make any inquiry for them to say they had taken the Marlborough road. We left Thompsons house, and proceeded to Dr. Blankford's farm. Allen and myself proceeded to the house and after a hunt all over the farm we found the Henry Butler he fully corroborated [*sic*] the boy Thompsons statement [insertion: neither one of these parties had been interrogated by any person previous to our interview with them] and I was then fully satisfied we were on the track of the villains [*sic*]. proceeded then to Bryantown (the place where I am now writing). Here I heard Col Wells²⁶ was stationed. After some conversation with him we left for Dr. Mudds house. Taking the Dr. in my buggy (carriage) he informed me that Booth had been introduced to him & had been at his house in the fall of 1864 and he had known him then as Booth—that he now believed since his examination that he had set the leg of Booth who was at his house on Saturday morning [April 15] about 4 oclock A. M. . . . the Dr. tells a tale not to be believed about their departure from his house, stated that he had cut the boot off Booths leg as it was much swollen, and gave him a shoe or slipper. Crutches were made for Booth by the Dr. and an Englishman²⁷ in the Drs employ. . . .

Colonel Wells had sent for John Lloyd to be brought down for further questioning, and that evening Wood

was in at his confession. . . . Booth told Lloyd (the prisoner) who resides in Mrs. Surratts house (on the road) near Robey's that they (we) had murdered the President & Sec. Seward; You can take all precautions necessary now with Mrs. Surratt for she was beyond the question of a doubt in the conspiracy. . . . I send this for your information your good judgement will prevent any improper use thereof hoping for success I remain respectfully your obt. Servant

William P. Wood
Supt OCP²⁸

On Friday, April 21, Dr. Mudd was haled into custody,²⁹ and Wood then took up temporary quarters in the physician's home. The residence, said Mudd's wife Sarah,—who was sequestered there with four children and a Negro woman—"was guarded by two young men, left by William P. Wood, keeper of the Old Capitol Prison in Washington. These young men were instructed to shoot any one who dared to enter the yard. . . . Mr. Wood and two other detectives had their headquarters in the house, and went out during the day in search of Booth, returning at night."³⁰

Or, as Wood put the situation in his second, and briefer, report of April 23 to the Judge Advocate:

Have been out to the Residence of Dr. Mudd, accompanied by Col Wells. The Col. A. Allen Dr. Mudd and myself have made a personal examination of the premises [*sic*] and matters relating to the murderers, we tracked both their horses and know they left Dr. Mudd's house on horseback; about dusk they were lost. Harold [*sic*] dismounted and went up the road & inquired for directions, and there is no doubt they have left for the Potomac—via Port-Tobacco—going by way of Mathias Point in [King George County] Va. Dr. Mudd's statement I now believe to be true.

The assassins changed horses. Harold was riding the bay mare obtained from Pumphreys stable,³¹ and it may be possible that she fell or threw off Booth and broke his leg. however I believe as I have written this morning. I will start for Port Tobacco this evening; my men Kirby and Allen slept last night in the bed used by Booth when his leg was bandaged. all the tales about Booth being in Washington, Pennsylvania, or Upper Maryland are a hoax. we are on his track, rely on it—we are all well.

Respt
William P. Wood
Supt³²

Three days later, Wednesday, April 26, the actor was cornered and killed down near Port Royal, Virginia, south of the Rappahannock, by a New York cavalry detachment under Lafayette Baker's control (he was not personally on the scene). Wood, as we shall see, did not cross to Virginia, and he seems to have been among the many persuaded by a rumor to the effect that Booth's corpse had been "carried to an

island twenty-seven miles from Washington, and secretly buried there."³³ The Superintendent did not know the assassin "personally; only as a public character. I never had any conversation with him," though he did know the Baltimore stage entrepreneur John T. Ford, in whose Washington theatre Booth had done the deed.³⁴

On May 9 a military commission opened the trial of the eight remaining conspirators, and Wood would be among those testifying. In July, upon terminating his affiliation with the War Office, he would be appointed Chief Detective of the Department of the Treasury. And in August he would be moved to despatch the screed that follows to his ex-boss, Secretary Stanton, in support of his two field reports from Southern Maryland. In its extant, outsize clerical copy the missive comes to slightly more than eleven foolscap pages. Largely repetitive of the earlier communiqués, it nevertheless contains several interesting details:

First, Wood confirms that, "besides a written order I received the verbal [oral] instructions from yourself to get on the track of Booth and never quit pursuit until he was captured." Then he identifies his three assistants, Kirby, Allen, and Adamson, as follows:

... the first was an intimate friend of Mrs Surratts family, the second one of the most celebrated "Negro catchers" for the slave owners of Maryland and had as I believed the confidence of a great number of the conservative Copperheads and rebels residing in the lower counties of Maryland. the third person was selected by me as a hardy young man whom I desired to accompany me through the south, which section I believed Booth would endeavour to make [for]

In due course the Super and his party proceeded to Port Tobacco preparatory to crossing to Virginia, "but we met with Major OBrien³⁵ who dissuaded me from crossing the river assuring me that he (Major B) had exercised great vigilance and that he was confident Booth had not crossed the river. . . ." So Wood returned to Bryantown and Mudd's home, where he and Lieutenant David D. Dana, brother of the Assistant Secretary of War, and twenty-five soldiers

busied themselves with scouring the countryside "from the Potomac to the Patuxent. . . ."³⁶ Once they had come upon the fugitives' horse tracks, they "staked off the shoe prints with tobacco sticks. I *know these particulars to be correct.*"

Wood then reiterated the fact of his earlier reports to Judge Advocate Turner,

stating briefly all the facts & information I had obtained, stating my opinions as to the route taken by Booth and my determination to follow him as stated. I have endeavored to obtain this communication [,] which cannot now be found after repeated efforts, but if found the dates and confirmation therein contained will establish the fact that the first and most reliable information was furnished by me in other particulars besides the route taken by Booth, showing conclusively the criminality of Mrs Surratt, the knowledge of and assistance rendered the assassins by Dr Mudd [,] all of which were furnished in the communication sent to Lt Col L C Turner, and by that officer placed in your possession for the use of your Department.

In conclusion Wood could not resist respectfully calling Stanton's attention "to the report of Genl L C Baker, believing that that officer has acknowledged that the information which led to the arrest of Booth & Harold was obtained from the communication (now lost) which was addressed to Lt Col L. C. Turner. . . ."³⁷

The eyebrow-raiser here is Wood's reference to "the criminality of Mrs Surratt." For on Monday, June 5, he had appeared before the Military Commission as a defense witness on her behalf. The bulk of his testimony pertained to neighborhood politics in Southern Maryland, and need not detain us in detail. Its implication, however, was to the effect that, as the sister of a loyal Unionist, Zad Jenkins—whom Wood stated he had known some six or seven years—Mary E. Surratt was no Secessionist, either, and therefore implausible as a candidate for conspiracy. Counsel for the accused, John W. Clappitt, put the following question to Wood:

Q. Did you or did you not receive first of all from Mr. Jenkins certain information submitted by you to the War Department, which led to the final capture of Booth, the assassin of the President?

A. I received in the early stage of affairs some information from Mr. Jenkins that I forwarded to Judge Turner, who is the Judge Advocate of the prison. . . . I was satisfied he would give it to me if he had it in his possession, when I started off. I called on him and he did give it to me.

In answer to a query Wood affirmed that he considered this a loyal act and that Jenkins was a loyal Union man. He stipulated, however, that

I do not believe he [Jenkins] is friendly to the Administration. He is very bitter on the Administration on account of his negroes. Outside of that I believe him to be a loyal man. I know he has always been so considered by those who have meddled with politics in this section of the country; he has been counted one of the most reliable men in that county [Prince George's].

Upon cross-examination by the Judge Advocate, the severe and unrelenting Joseph Holt, as to why any witness should not deem bitter hostility to government "in a civil war like this as in the interest of the public enemy and therefore disloyal?" Wood backed down a bit:

A. Lately I have not considered him sound on the subject and have had but very little to do with him, except on account of former friendship in past times. I thought then he was as loyal as any man in the country, and regarded him as such and treated him as a friend; but at the last election he voted for Harris³⁸ and was in with these other parties, and I did not like that state of affairs and hence had not that political confidence in him that I had previously.³⁹

It might be noted that, unlike Wood, nearly all the defense witnesses for Widow Surratt were either actively pro-Confederate or of at least doubtful loyalty.⁴⁰ It was Wood, in his capacity as Superintendent of Old Capitol Prison, who wrote down on his commitment, April 30, the testimony of the Baltimore-born spy in the office of the Commissary General of Prisoners, young Louis Weichmann, a boarder at Mrs. Surratt's house in Washington.⁴¹ "This corrupt scoundrel," said Wood,

betrayed his official trust by compiling statistics and information in the interest of

the Confederacy, and using his official connection as a cover he often went into southern Maryland with Mrs. Surratt to deliver his information. Weichman's [sic] intimacy with Mrs. Surratt arose from this cause and nothing more. Directly after the arrest of Mrs. Surratt Weichman was arrested and to save his worthless carcass from imprisonment evidently gave such testimony to clear himself as implicated this unfortunate lady with the conspirators. The Secretary of War knew my desire to save Mrs. Surratt as I had promised, and Baker, who had heretofore been under a cloud with Stanton, but who loomed up after the capture of Booth, caused Mrs. Surratt's removal from my charge at the Old Capitol Prison, and this man Baker was responsible for the barbarities subsequently practiced upon her. In justice to other officers of the War Department it is proper to state here that there was no official of that Department connected with the matter who did not protest against the course adopted with Mrs. Surratt. As a consequence of these facts no authentic history of the conspiracy has ever been prepared, much less given to the public.⁴²

Also incarcerated at the Old Capitol was the widow's daughter, Anna. When the Military Commission's verdict of death became known, recalled another woman prisoner,

it is impossible to describe the state of wretchedness, into which this news threw Anna Surratt. [Wood] told her himself—none of us having the nerve to do so. She was frantic for a time, her constant cry being "Mother! Mother!" I believe [Wood] would have withheld this from her, had she not insisted on learning the truth. He told us he had begged the officer in charge to allow him an interview with Mrs. Surratt, but was refused, as she was not permitted to see or hold communication with any one, not even the guard.⁴³

Against the trial background in general, Wood came with time to adopt a complete reversal of his earlier accusation of "criminality" toward the lone female conspirator. "The annals of execution," he declared,

furnish no greater exhibit of cruelty than was perpetrated on the unfortunate lady Mrs. Mary E. Surratt. . . . This unfortunate lady was as innocent of any connection with the assassination of President Lincoln as any of the officers who sat upon her

trial; besides there were guarantees made to her brother [J. Zaddock Jenkins] by the writer, upon the authority of Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, that she would not be executed. . . .⁴⁴

And again: "The story of the cruel execution of Mrs. Surratt is better fitted for the pages of the history of those eras regarded as the dark ages than the period in which the advocates of universal liberty were making the continent noisy with their howling."⁴⁵ And in further detail:

It was well-known by the officers of the Government that his [Wood's] purpose was to save that unfortunate woman from death, if possible; but the conduct of the trial showed conclusively that her execution was a predetermined fact and that any attempt to save her would be useless. The writer tried to gain access to President Johnson. He sought admission to the White House both by the front and rear entrance, but was denied admission. At the last attempt he was confronted by L. C. Baker, who declared that he had orders from Mr. Stanton that the writer particularly should be excluded from audience with the President, but he could not believe this possible until Baker exhibited written instructions to that effect.⁴⁶

Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, had—as of June or July 1867, by Wood's calculation—finally ascertained the facts of the latter's commitments to Zaddock Jenkins *vis à vis* his sister.⁴⁷ Johnson, therefore,

sent for me and requested me to give my version of Mrs. Surratt's connection with the assassination of President Lincoln. I did so, and I believe he was thoroughly convinced of the innocence of Mrs. Surratt. He assured me he sincerely regretted that he had not given Mrs. Surratt the benefit of Executive clemency, and strongly expressed his detestation of what he termed the "infamous conduct of Stanton" in keeping these facts from him. I asserted my unchangeable friendship for Mr. Stanton under all circumstances, and while I regretted the course adopted by the Secretary of War towards Mrs. Surratt, I would never hesitate to perform any act of kindness for him. President Johnson commended me for my devotion to friends, and the subject of the assassination was never afterwards dis-

cussed between him and myself. The great War Secretary of the Union was no longer in power. He was a plain citizen of the Republic, broken in health and tottering between life and death.⁴⁸

But not so far gone as not to be able to send for Wood and "solicit his assistance for the impeachers [of Johnson]. This was declined."⁴⁹

For his part "President Johnson," Wood averred, "despised Stanton and only spoke of him in the most bitter terms. He regretted the hanging of Mrs. Surratt, and understood and defied the crowd of politicians who were desirous of his impeachment, whom he successfully outgeneraled." Shortly after the Stanton solicitation Johnson, too, sent for Wood, and,

accompanied by a prominent citizen, he called upon the President, who desired us to do something adverse to the interest of Mr. Stanton. This was also declined, the writer assuring the President of his personal friendship with Stanton, and that he would consider it as great an outrage to do wrong to Mr. Stanton in view of the friendly relations with him as to one of his own children. Instead of feeling offended Andrew Johnson rose from his seat and extended his hand, declaring that he admired such friendship, and that he would not ask the writer to do anything in the matter.⁵⁰

Against such a stage-set of *noblesse oblige* one wonders what either party would have had to say with reference to the contents of a sheet and a half of correspondence paper? It bears the printed heading, "Executive," is dated July 7, 1868, and is captioned as "Case of Wood Wm. P. Chief Secret Service Treasury Dept." The unobtrusive little document lurks in the vast Andrew Johnson Papers at the Library of Congress, penned in an unknown and difficult hand, its quasi-legal style replete with underlinings. It consists of "Charges" against Wood advanced by certain persons whose characters are duly vouched for by other persons, for a total of ten persons in all. The opening charge is by one whose name seems to be M. M. Young and is to the effect that

on 15th Sept 1867 Wood offered to pay him

10,000\$ for any correspondence between *Andrew Johnson* and *Jefferson Davis* showing complicity on the formers part with assassination of *Prest Lincoln*. *Young* had been a Private Secy to *Davis*⁵¹ *Wood* offered to take *Young* to *E. M. Stanton* to confirm the said offer and cursed the President in loud & violent manner.

Two other accusers now come on the tapis, Messrs. A. R. Allen⁵² and J. H. Wise, their reliability certified by Richard Wallach, mayor of the District of Columbia throughout the war. The pair made affidavit to the effect that "they have heard *Wood* often abuse *Prest Johnson* in the most violent coarse, and insulting manner." One R. M. A. Fenwick also made "affidavit that *Wood* in his presence publicly loudly and coarsely abused the President as a 'drunkard' etc. . . ." The crescendo is reached in the allegations of one Mr., or Dr., Tucker. He made "affidavit that *Wood* travelled thro' the country at Govt expense abusing coarsely and violently its President; that [succeeding few words illegible] most unprincipled manner for extortion, profligacy, the support of prostitutes and their relatives and friends at govt. expense." This person, too, had his reliability certified.⁵³

In truth here, on the threshold of the Gilded Age and all its swirling vices and transgressions, sits a nasty little circumstance crying aloud for elucidation!

By this time Mrs. Surratt's son John had been extradited from Egypt and was standing trial at Washington in his own right (but before a civil jury). Proceedings began on June 10, 1867; and on their forty-sixth day, August 2, William P. Wood appeared in the witness box—again for the defense. We do not know his words, but certain remarks made by young Surratt's senior counsel, the prominent Washington attorney Joseph Habersham Bradley, jibe with convictions already held pertaining to the conspiracy's duration. Wood, it was declared in later years by someone who would appear to have known him personally,

always claimed that he was the only person who knew the whole of the inside history of the Booth conspiracy against Lincoln. At first it consisted only of a crazy plan to kidnap Lincoln and take him to Richmond. This plan was concocted at a meeting place

in a boarding-house on the corner of F and Ninth Streets northwest . . . in which Col. Wood rented a room for a number of months, where he occasionally slept himself or employed some one else to do so, in order to keep watch upon the proceedings.

According to Col. Wood's narrative, the plot to assassinate Lincoln was not thirty-six hours old when Booth carried it out. He believed that Booth got tired of the kidnapping plans and suddenly hit upon assassination.⁵⁴

Attorney Bradley's remarks to the Surratt jury pertinent to the above passages of August 2 run as follows:

It is not within the range of my privilege to state to you what has been communicated to me by William P. Wood, chief detective of the Treasury Department, upon this subject. But after this case is over you may have an opportunity of knowing what this statement is. Independent of any revelations of William P. Wood, made to me on the public streets and in the presence of three or four others, the proof is clear that the Government knew the scheme to abduct had existed, and had been abandoned. They knew it existed prior to the 16th of March [1865], because the trial of the conspirators had possessed them of that knowledge. They knew there was no overt act, no meeting of the conspirators, no step taken by the conspirators after the 16th of March to renew the original plan.⁵⁵

A hung jury ensued. Finally, in 1868, the defendant's counsel got the case dismissed. Johnny Surratt then gave a couple lectures on the great topic and in due course faded from public view.

But our ex-Superintendent was not yet through with the shade of the ex-Zouave's mother. The nexus was the Super's patron, Edwin McMasters Stanton, for whom he had been a compliant tool during the widely publicized McCormick Reaper case back in the Fifties and under whom he had flourished as a quasi-autonomous baron at his Old Capitol fortress. "Humane, glorious Stanton," Wood would one day apostrophize the man, "all loyal hearts will hail you as the bravest civil hero of any age, and the noblest patriot in the galaxy of Union heroes!"⁵⁶ But the stage-set was changed now. Even a new male lead (named Grant) had emerged from the wings.

As Wood recalled the episode, it was "the day before the death of Mr. Stanton"—which occurred about 3.30 A.M., December 24, 1869—that he found himself summoned to the former Cabinet officer's bedside:

Stanton was a wreck—pale, haggard, disappointed, miserable! He had been confirmed a few days before [December 20] as an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. President Grant had not forwarded his commission, and this fact gave him a great deal of annoyance, and made him bitter in his denunciation of Grant. . . .

Mr. Stanton referred again to the hanging of Mrs. Surratt, and desired to know the purpose of the writer in obtaining the paper from Baker [see p. 230, below]. In his broken-down and depressed condition he declared that he was haunted day and night by visions of the unfortunate woman, and that he could not live under the pressure he was bearing, and to quiet him I assured him that no publication of facts in the matter would be made during his lifetime, and that if I should die first the papers should be destroyed. This temporarily quieted him, and on the day following his death was publicly announced. . . .⁵⁷

Wood also gives a somewhat more circumstantial account of the episode. Both accounts, *vis à vis* the dying man's remorse over Mrs. Surratt, fly in the face of the situation as presented by Stanton's biographers.⁵⁸

[He] sent for me, and I called at his residence on K Street. When ushered into his presence I was startled at his woe-begone and wretched appearance. He inquired if I knew the reason why that man (meaning President Grant) withheld his commission. I told him. Then we drifted in our talks to the execution herein referred to and he rebuked me for not making greater effort to save the woman that was hanged. He said he would have trusted his life in my keeping; that I would have saved him the torments of hell had I been more persistent in my efforts. I reminded him of my call on President Johnson to plead for mercy for Mrs. Surratt, and that I was met by L. C. Baker at the entrance of the President's house, and Baker produced an order over his [Stanton's] signature which set forth that I should not be permitted to enter the

building or communicate with the President.

"Too true," he responded, "and the Surratt woman haunts me so that my nights are sleepless and my days miserable, and Grant aids my enemies by refusing to sign my commission, which would afford me temporary relief and perhaps prolong my life. He will not do it, and, Wood, this is at last the end." Placing his hands to his head he continued: "I cannot endure the pressure; I am dying, dying surely, dying now!"

A few parting words were exchanged between us, and the following day the death of Edwin M. Stanton was publicly announced.⁵⁹

Another key personality in the Case of William P. Wood *vs.* J. Wilkes Booth had by now also met his maker. This was "General" Lafayette Curry Baker, who expired at Philadelphia on July 3, 1868, to the predominant pleasure of many who knew him. For five years he had flourished on the national scene, but after the shooting stopped had contrived no niche for himself within the reunited land. Congress had allotted him far less than what he deemed just claim to the lion's share of the reward monies; and when Andrew Johnson became Chief Executive, the onetime Ranger boss even found himself haled into court on a false-imprisonment charge. Nevertheless, Baker had accomplished one thing that Wood had not: he published a book. True, his hefty *History of the United States Secret Service* (1867)—which makes no mention of Wood—was ghost-written and wholly self-serving; but it has helped to keep its author's name alive in a way that fly-by-night newspaper reminiscences, such as Wood would turn to, can never effect. But, as the result of imprudent financial speculation, the master manipulator died without assets.⁶⁰

And here was Billy Wood still striving to establish his own claim, financial and/or otherwise, to some emolument in the Booth business! For reasons best known to himself he did not elect to publicize his claim until the autumn of 1883. In two issues of the *Washington Sunday Gazette* for October 28 and November 4 that year Wood printed certain correspondence. "We declare," he said,

that we are in possession of more infor-

mation on the subject of the assassination and the contemplated kidnapping of President Lincoln than is known to any other party; we also declare without fear of challenge from any one who professes to know anything about the matter to show any evidence controverting the declarations we make upon the subject.⁶¹

The essence of Wood's claims lay in three letters of November, 1867, between himself and William B. Matchett. Matchett, a clergyman apparently without congregation—he had been a chaplain with one of the New York State units during the war—was a staff employee of the Judiciary Committee of the Congress and, more particularly, an aide to Republican Representative James M. Ashley, of Ohio, who utilized him as an errand runner.⁶² Wood, who undoubtedly recalled that Matchett back in 1862 had been thrown into the Old Capitol by Lafayette Baker on some charge or other, chose to go on record with the statement that the onetime chaplain was “not unknown in many intrigues and political schemes concocted in Washington,” but sweetened the derogation by declaring that he had “no unkind feeling towards Mr. Matchett, and has received from him good service on many occasions. . . .”⁶³ He now approached the chap for another one.

Whereas Wood these days enjoyed no “easy communication” with Lafayette Baker, Matchett was “on friendly and intimate terms” with the man. He therefore asked Matchett to visit the General and revive that subject still simmering in Wood's consciousness: the vanished papers acknowledging his primacy in the capture of Booth. Presumably he had been holding off going public all this time in the hope of extracting admissions from Baker, but he had now heard that the ex-detective was under medical treatment and not expected to live. Part of Wood's background statement (for Matchett's benefit) has already been provided on page 223 above. It carries on as follows:

After Booth's capture [April 26, 1865], and on my return to Washington, Baker read to me a communication which had been copied into his letter book, and which copy (if not torn out) shows that L. C. Baker wrote in substance:

“I am indebted to William P. Wood, superintendent of the Old Capitol Prison, for the information which led to the arrest of Booth.”

This letter was suppressed, the purpose (the execution of Mrs. Surratt) is, in my opinion, well known to Baker. I will further add that Baker has time and time again promised me a copy of that letter, which acknowledged the facts as above stated, that he was indebted to me for the information that led to the capture of Booth, and I obtained this information in the manner as stated.

I shall expect him to furnish a copy of that letter or the public will be made aware of his pretensions not only in this case but in others.

Assure him of my earnestness in this matter, and advise me by letter if you please the result of your interview with him upon the subject.⁶⁴

And Wood enclosed a two-paragraph note dated Washington, November 27, 1867, making the above request to Baker personally.

Matchett duly performed the trek up to Philadelphia and met with their mutual acquaintance in his home at 1737 Coates Street. He brought back with him a response dated November 29. Baker stated that he had no desire not to comply with Wood's request. “The fact that I ever wrote any letter on the subject of the capture of the assassins, in which you were referred to, had entirely passed my recollection until Mr. Matchett's call this evening. My old letter books are not here, but I will send for the one containing the letters and send you a copy. I don't recollect precisely what I did say, but you are welcome to it, whatever it may be.” Why not seek the original in the War Department files?

Matchett had enjoyed an extended conversation with Baker, and upon return to the capital reported to Wood that the gentleman “did not seem at all startled” upon being confronted with the subject. He had, however, remarked that since “Mr. Wood knew where he lived, why did he get me to call instead of coming himself, as he was frequently in the city.” Matchett pointed out Wood's objection to treating with Baker as though he were a subordinate. “The general walked the floor a brief

pace and appeared to be thinking, and retired to the secretary in the rear parlor, and without consulting me wrote the letter, which I send you herewith. The interview closed and I think I gathered that the general felt that he had simply discharged a pleasant duty he owed to ancient friendship."⁶⁵

Well, nothing seems to have ensued to Wood's benefit. Worse, he found that he had been "grossly betrayed" in confidentiality by Matchett because the clergyman had shown the correspondence with Baker to his employer, the Radical Republican from Ohio, James M. Ashley. (Both Baker and Ashley had testified at the Johnson impeachment proceedings in Washington on November 22–23.) "Impeachment" Ashley, one of the founders of the new Republican Party, was such a fanatic on the subject of Andrew Johnson that a prominent newspaper quoted him as vowing to "give neither sleep to his eyes nor slumber to his eyelids" until he had made a case against the President. After perusing the material, Ashley told Matchett, "I would not surrender that to Mr. Wood now; he is our enemy."⁶⁶ Matchett nevertheless did so. But since Wood, though a Republican, was no Radical, one may assume that the Ohioan's opinion rolled off his back.

And so, during the brief but sulphurous season of the Booth Episode, what had William Patrick Wood gotten out of it all? Well, he had beaten the bullrushes in the wilds of Southern Maryland, slept in a notorious medicine man's domicile, and evoked the opprobrium of many a local resident. He may, or may not, have been the first person to develop a decisive lead to the arch-conspirator's whereabouts. He had crossed lances with the most menacing police official of the day. He had been a participant in both of the trials featuring the Surratts and a repeated asserter of the innocence of the woman involved. He had been on confidential terms with a Cabinet officer and a President of the United States, and been solicited by both to do the other in. He could offer little-noticed testimony as to the last hours of that Secretary. He was —or was he?— a ferocious swearer and profaner, a large-scale bribe offerer, and a kind of management consult-

ant to *bona robas* and their ilk. One thing he was not: a recipient of reward money.⁶⁷ One thing he indubitably was: a nibbler at the fringes of History.

And that is what happened to one of the claimants in pursuit of John Wilkes Booth.

REFERENCES

1. See, for example, Harold M. Hyman's address before the Abraham Lincoln Association, *With Malice toward Some: Scholarship (or Something Less) on the Lincoln Murder* (Springfield, Ill., 1978, pamphlet), and William Hanchett, *The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies* (Urbana and Chicago [1983]).
2. Only the following sources make even moderately extensive reference to Wood (hereinafter WPW): David Rankin Barbee's minutely researched, heavily pro-Confederate "Lincoln and Booth," uncompleted typescript (6 v., n.p., n.d., continuously paginated), in possession of the late author's daughter, Mrs. Hugh F. Smith of Orange, Tex.; Walter S. Bowen and Harry E. Neal, *The United States Secret Service* (Philadelphia, 1960), Chap. 2, pp. 12–17; Otto Eisenschiml, *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* (Boston, 1937), pp. 186 *et passim*, and Eisenschiml, *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death* (New York, 1940), pp. 128 *et passim*.
3. Mrs. [Rose O'Neal] Greenhow, *My Imprisonment, and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* (London, 1863), p. 310. WPW in turn labelled her "the most dangerous Confederate emissary located at Washington during the early stages of the rebellion." WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, December 7, 1884.
4. See Curtis Carroll Davis, "The 'Old Capitol' and Its Keeper," *Columbia Historical Society Records* (to appear). Basis for that, and for the present, article are WPW's variously captioned reminiscences published in the *Washington, D.C., weeklies*, *Sunday Gazette* and *National Free Press*, over the period 1883–1888 and preserved by him in twelve scrapbooks now in possession of the Office of Public Affairs, United States Secret Service. To that office's Assistant Director, Robert R. Snow, and especially to Mrs. Dorothy Jacobsen, I am much indebted.
5. This and succeeding quotation from *National Free Press*, 11 Mar. 1888. The word is rendered "con-iacker," first known usage in 1848, by Mitford M. Mathews, ed., *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* (Chicago [1951]), p. 378. The original of Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana's directive, Washington, 6 Oct. 1864, assigning WPW to the counterfeiting mission was once in WPW's possession and now reposes with other of his materials in the Office of Public Affairs, U. S. Secret Service. WPW printed the item in the *National Free Press* for 14 Aug. 1887.
6. C. A. Dana, War Dept., Washington City, 17 Apr. 1865, to WPW at the Walnut Street House, Cincinnati, in Telegrams Sent by the Secretary of War, Vol. 30, March 20–April 20, 1865, Record Group 107, Records of the Office of the Secretary

of War, National Archives (henceforth RG and NA, respectively).

7. WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, 28 Oct. 1883.
8. Jacob Mogelev, *Death to Traitors: The Story of General Lafayette C. Baker, Lincoln's Forgotten Secret Service Chief* (Garden City, 1960), p. 109. "By some means, never clearly understood," declared the first Registrar of the Treasury, "his jurisdiction was extended to the army, and he exercised his authority in all the departments and throughout the United States. . . I never did understand under what authority Baker exercised his unendurable tyranny." See Leslie E. Chittenden, *Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration* (New York, 1891), pp. 345, 350. "He had reduced blackmailing and intimidation to a science, and those who would not comply with his unlawful demands were moderately sure of a residence in this place," Old Capitol Prison, affirms Dr. John B. Ellis, *The Sights and Secrets of the National Capital* . . . (New York, 1869), p. 440.
9. Mogelev, *op. cit.*, p. 308. The idea was conceived and the organization directed by Stanton's fellow lawyer, Assistant Secretary of War Philip H. Watson, says the onetime Provost-Marshal of the District of Columbia, William E. Doster, in his *Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War* (New York and London, 1915), pp. 126-27.
10. Mogelev, *op. cit.*, p. 280.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
12. WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, 23 Feb. 1883 (unlocated), cited by Barbee, "Lincoln and Booth," III, 520; and WPW, *ibid.*, 20 Feb. 1887. Cf. also Barbee, "The Abraham Lincoln Papers: An Evaluation," *Columbia Historical Society Records*, L (1952), 452-55. For Redpath quotation see Otto J. Scott, *The Secret Six: John Brown and the Abolitionist Movement* ([New York, 1979]), p. 196 *et passim*.
13. WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, 31 July 1887. Elsewhere WPW had occasion

to refer to certain raids upon the southern portion of Maryland made under the auspices of L. C. Baker. Stores and residences on the [Potomac] river were pillaged without discrimination by Baker's men. These trips commenced in May, 1863, and in order to break up this system of outrage and robbery the writer caused the arrest of several of Baker's men, whose confessions of robberies of the people of lower Maryland are a matter of record in the Judge Advocate General's office of the War department.

These outrages tended to inflame the people of southern Maryland against the Federal officers and soldiers, and to alienate their devotion to the Union cause [*Sunday Gazette*, 4 Nov. 1883].

14. WPW, "The Intelligent Contraband—The Negro before the War.—The Negro since the War . . .," *Sunday Gazette*, 22 July 1883.
15. "X. X." to WPW, Port Tobacco, 4 July 1876, in *Sunday Gazette*, 22 July 1883.
16. So WPW assured the enemy scout and chaplain, Capt. Thomas Nelson Conrad, *A Confederate Spy: A Story of the Civil War* (New York, 1892), p. 84.

My appreciation to Margaret Cook, rare-book curatrix in the William and Mary College library for supplying me with reproductions of passages in this scarce volume.

17. WPW to William B. Matchett, Washington, 26 Nov. 1867, in *Sunday Gazette*, 28 Oct. 1883.
18. Helen Jones Campbell, *Confederate Courier* (New York [1964]), pp. 13, 234, and Conrad, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
19. Note, for example, the fascination with her case of the vanished businessman P. Donald Kemp, as described in the Baltimore, Md., *Sunday Sun*, 7 Aug. 1983 (Sect. C, pp. 1, 6); and see Susan S. Dowell's heavily illustrated article, "The Mary Surratt House: Memorial to Questionable Guilt," *Maryland*, XVI (Winter 1983), 15-19. There is a Surratt Society, with its own newsletter, at the restored tavern. Incidental data by WPW identifying two of her female roomers are cited by Guy W. Moore, *The Case of Mrs. Surratt* . . . (Norman [1954]), p. 6.
20. Brevet Col. Levi C. Turner, Judge Advocate of the War Department.
21. In the *Sunday Gazette*, 30 Jan. 1887, WPW calls Allen "a well-known and efficient local constable. . ."
22. Probably the loyal Unionist, Dorley V. Robey. His son Andrew gained appointment as postmaster of Surrattsville. See Helen Jones Campbell, *The Case for Mrs. Surratt* (New York [1943]), pp. 50-51, a novelistic work which nevertheless exhibits much regional familiarity. Mystery novelist Theodore Roscoe, in his non-fictional *The Web of Conspiracy* . . . (Englewood Cliffs [1959]), 251-52, notes in passing WPW's interview with Jenkins and tags the stocky, muscular WPW as "plump!"
23. "Corpulent, heavy-drinking" John M. Lloyd, "a disgracefully retired Washington policeman" to whom in the spring of 1864 Mrs. Surratt had leased her late husband's tavern and other property, according to Campbell, *The Case for Mrs. Surratt*, p. 54. Surrattsville, now Clinton, lies some ten miles southeast of Washington in Prince George's County.
24. WPW to Matchett, 26 Nov. 1867 (cf. n. 17, above). "This communication was placed in the hands of Judge Turner, and was seen by the Secretary of War, assistant secretary [Peter H. Watson] and other officials, and was the first reliable information received at the War Department, and set forth the substantial facts concerning Booth's condition and flight, together with the route taken by him, and I am satisfied this communication was the basis of information upon which Baker sought and obtained [from Stanton] the company of soldiers that made the capture."
25. Dr. Joseph H. Blandford (*sic*), Dr. Mudd's brother-in-law.
26. Col. H. H. Wells, provost-marshal of Alexandria, Va., on staff of the Military Governor of Washington, Brig. Gen. Christopher C. Augur. "I received every assistance & kindness at the hands of Col Wells, who is taking every step in the prosecution of the business in hand."
27. John Best, an aging indentured servant. See Samuel Carter III, *The Riddle of Dr. Mudd* (New York

- [1974]), p. 126 *et passim*. The Thompsons and the Negro, Henry Butler, remain unidentified.
28. WPW from Old Capitol Prison to Maj. L. C. Turner, Bryantown, 23 Apr. 1865, File Folder #72, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 153, NA.
 29. Hal Higdon, *The Union vs. Dr. Mudd* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 54–55.
 30. Nettie Mudd, ed., *The Life of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd* . . . (New York and Washington, 1906), pp. 35–36. Reprinted, Linden, Tenn. 1975. The Mudd property lay between Bryantown and Waldorf in Charles County, along Old Mill Swamp about three-quarters of a mile northeast of Zekiah (Zachia, Sakiah) Swamp. The home still stands on Maryland Route 382, running east and west between Beantown and Malcolm. The present-day post office is Waldorf.
 31. James W. Pumphrey of 244 C St., Washington.
 32. WPW to Maj. Turner (cf. n. 28, above). The “bed used by Booth” is among the many photographs illustrating Higdon, *The Union vs. Dr. Mudd*, p. 112 ff., #3.
 33. According to an unidentified newspaper obit on WPW quoted by Finis L. Bates, *Escape and Suicide of John Wilkes Booth* . . . (Memphis, 1907), p. 177. This work is one among several fostering the myth of Booth’s “escape” from justice. His body lies in an unmarked grave in the Booth family plot in the Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore.
 34. The fact emerges incidentally from WPW’s brief appearance during the Johnson impeachment proceedings. See *Impeachment Investigation. Testimony Taken before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives in the Investigation of the Charges against Andrew Johnson. Second Session Thirty-Ninth Congress, and First Session Fortieth Congress. 1867* (Washington, 1867), pp. 490–92. For calling my attention to this item, as well as for a critical reading of the present article prior to publication, I am indebted to John C. Brennan of Laurel, Md.
 35. Maj. James R. O’Beirne (*sic*), of the United States Marshal’s office in the District of Columbia.
 36. “In justice to Lt Dana I will say in this report that he proved the most untiring and persistent military officer that came under my notice while participating in the pursuit of the assassins. . . .”
 37. WPW to Stanton, Washington, 20 Aug. 1865, in *Letters Received, 1861–1870*, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, RG 94, NA. My appreciation to Dr. William Hanchett of San Diego, Calif., as well as for a critical reading of this article prior to publication.
 38. Probably Benjamin Gwynn Harris of Saint Mary’s County, “the only out-and-out Secessionist who was elected to the Federal House of Representatives during the war,” according to Harry Wright Newman, *Maryland and the Confederacy* (Annapolis, 1976), p. 212. Earlier in his testimony WPW labelled him “a Democrat of the Secession school a States-rights Democrat in that section of the country.”
 39. File #M 599, Investigation and Trial Papers relating to the Assassination of President Lincoln, pp. 3,444–53, Records of the Judge Advocate General’s Office, RG 153, NA. Published, with minor verbal variations, by Ben[jamin] Perley Poore, comp., *The Conspiracy Trial for the Murder of the President* . . . (3 v., Boston, 1865–1866), III, 279–83. We learn in passing that WPW worked in cooperation with the Union State Central Committee of Maryland to promote the Union ticket in certain areas of the State. His appearance at the trial is briefly mentioned by the more compressed accounts published by T. B. Peterson & Bros., *The Trial of the Assassins and Conspirators at Washington* . . . (Philadelphia [1865]), p. 144, and by Benn Pitman, *The Assassination of President Lincoln and the Trial of the Conspirators*, Facsimile Edit., intro. Philip van Doren Stern (Westport [1954]), p. 130; first edit., Cincinnati and New York, 1865.
 40. The point is made by Thomas Reed Turner, *Beware the People Weeping: Public Opinion and the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Baton Rouge and London [1982]), p. 187. According to Hanchett, *The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies*, p. 3, this “is the first book dealing with the assassination written by a professional historian.”
 41. The outer fold of the MS is captioned, in what appears to be WPW’s script, “Louis J. Wiechman [*sic*] Statement furnished by W. P. Wood Supt. O. C. Prison,” microfilm publication #M 599, roll 7: Investigation and Trial Papers relating to the Assassination of President Lincoln, Records of the Judge Advocate General’s Office, RG 153, NA. The document has been lavishly edited by Floyd E. Risvold as *A True History of the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln and of the Conspiracy of 1865* (New York, 1977) pp. 473–74. Discussed in passing by Joseph George, Jr., “Nature’s First Law: Louis J. Weichman and Mrs. Surratt,” *Civil War History*, XXVIII (June 1982), 110.
 42. WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, 4 Nov. 1883.
 43. [Mrs. Virginia Lomax], *The Old Capitol and Its Inmates* . . . (New York, 1867), pp. 175–76. Throughout the authoress refers to WPW as “H.” I have used the copy of this rare book in the George Washington University library, with appreciation to curator David S. Zeidberg.
 44. WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, 28 Oct. 1883.
 45. *Ibid.*, 4 Nov. 1883.
 46. *Ibid.* The episode is recapitulated by the Rebel spy-master with whom WPW would over time establish amicable relations, T. N. Conrad, *A Confederate Spy*, p. 37. This scout’s considerable accomplishments, even though his penchant for disguises at one point got him picked up on suspicion of being Booth, are recounted by John Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy* (Philadelphia and New York [1970]), pp. 66–67 *et passim*, which also brings WPW into the picture.
 47. WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, 28 Oct. 1883, who says the realization occurred “a few weeks before” August, 1867, when Johnson ceased being “acting” President. The impeachment proceedings covered the period 13 Mar.–28 May 1868, but agitation for impeachment had been in the air at least since 12 Aug. 1867, when Johnson suspended Stanton as Secretary of War.
 48. WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, undated (quoted by Eisen-

- schiml, *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* p. 289). Five members of the commission had signed a clemency plea for Mrs. Surratt, and historians have spent the intervening decades debating whether Johnson was in fact hoodwinked from seeing the document. Turner, *Beware the People Weeping*, p. 177, cites this statement by WPW as illustrative of those who believe in Johnson's ignorance of the plea. Accepting this proposition is the Tennesseean's latest full-scale biographer, who attributes the imbrogio to chicanery practiced by Judge Advocate Joseph Holt. See Lately Thomas (Robert V. P. Steele), *The First President Johnson* . . . (New York, 1968), pp. 539–40.
49. WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, 4 Nov. 1883. Also: "About this time Mr. Matchett called upon the writer with a message from Benjamin F. Butler, offering him \$30,000 to furnish evidence to aid in the impeachment." Neither Matchett nor WPW is mentioned in the politician's bulky *Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences of Major-General Benj. F. Butler: Butler's Book* (Boston, 1892), nor is either mentioned by his biographers—Robert S. Holzman (1954), Hans L. Trefousse (1957), Richard S. West, Jr. (1965), and Howard P. Nash, Jr. (1969)—though all lay due emphasis upon their subject's whole-souled animosity toward Andrew Johnson.
 50. WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, 4 Nov. 1883. By his wife, the former Harriet Elizabeth Smith of Cumberland, Md., WPW had six sons and a daughter, Ida.
 51. Inquiry of "The Papers of Jefferson Davis" project at Rice University has elicited no record on Young. My thanks to editor Lynda L. Crist.
 52. Same name as individual in n. 21, above.
 53. By John T. Given, who would run for mayor of Washington in 1868. See Columbia Historical Society Records, XVIII (1915), 30.
 54. Obit, "Col. Billy Wood Dead," Washington, D.C., *Post*, 21 Mar. 1903 (p. 5). In WPW's opinion, "all the parties to it [the assassination] were comparatively insignificant characters, and Booth, the leading spirit of the conspirators, was evidently of as unsound mind as [Charles J.] Guiteau. Booth's associates were men without strength of character, ability or education" (*Sunday Gazette*, 4 Nov. 1883). Of Lewis T. Powell, alias Paine, the former Confederate trooper and would-be assassin of Secretary Seward, WPW observed that his "companions did not regard him as a soldier of special bravery; he was better known as a card-sharper, and whiskey guzzling loafer" (*National Free Press*, 18 Dec. 1887).
 55. [United States Government], *Trial of John H. Surratt* . . . (2 v., Washington, 1867), II, 1, 235. Italics supplied.
 56. WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, 27 June 1886.
 57. WPW, *ibid.*, 28 Oct. 1883.
 58. Two authorities take no stand on the subject: George C. Gorham, *Life and Public Service of Edwin M. Stanton* (2 v., Boston and New York, 1899), II, 203–04, and Fletcher Pratt, *Stanton: Lincoln's Secretary of War* (Westport [1970]), p. 426 (1st edit., New York, 1953). Three deny remorse: Frank A. Flower, *Edwin McMasters Stanton: The Autocrat of Rebellion, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (Akron, 1905), pp. 287, 364, and Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, *Stanton: The Life of Lincoln's Secretary of War* (New York, 1962), pp. 429, 432, asserting that Stanton and other Cabinet members "felt that Mrs. Surratt was guilty" and that Stanton himself "died convinced that Mrs. Surratt had been guilty, and he had no remorse over her punishment."
 59. WPW, *Sunday Gazette*, undated (quoted by Eisen-schiml, *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* pp. 289–90). Conrad, *A Confederate Spy*, pp. 140–41, gives substantially the same story, but places it on the "night" before Stanton's death. Flower, *Edwin McMasters Stanton*, p. 408, and Thomas and Hyman, *Stanton*, pp. 637–38, list only family members and a physician as being present at the death bed.
 60. For the clearing away of recent misconceptions, not to say falsehoods, about his last days see William C. Davis, "Behind the Lines," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, XX (Nov. 1981), 26–28, based on the research of James O. Hall, to whom the present writer is also indebted.
 61. *Sunday Gazette*, 4 Nov. 1883. The sentiment is echoed by WPW's obituarist (cf. n. 54, above).
 62. Helen Jones Campbell, *The Case for Mrs. Surratt*, pp. 138, 142. Eisenschiml, *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death*, p. 388, tags him as "a fellow detective" of WPW's. A few biographical details on Matchett emerge in *Impeachment Investigation* . . . , op. cit., pp., 1, 195 and 1,207, during testimony of L. C. Baker and J. M. Ashley. Matchett was the anonymous editor of the pamphlet memoir of a Unionist friend from Baltimore—*Maryland and the Glorious Third in the War for the Union: Reminiscences [sic] in the Life of Her "Militant" Chaplain and Major Samuel Kramer. By His Esteemed Friend and Co-Laborer* (Washington, 1882). Beneath the attribution in this Library of Congress copy an unknown hand has written, "Rev. W. B. Matchett."
 63. Conspicuously "among which was his assistance in aiding the writer in collating facts for the V[?--]ham exposure, which the author prepared for the New York Sun, the same being printed in its issue of January 27, 1874." See also *Impeachment Investigation* . . . , pp. 1, 192 and 1,194, where counsel asserts that Matchett "has been in the business of manufacturing evidence."
 64. WPW to Matchett, Washington, 26 Nov. 1867, in *Sunday Gazette*, 28 Oct. 1883.
 65. Matchett to "Friend Wood," Washington, 12 Oct. 1867, in *Sunday Gazette*, 28 Oct. 1883. At this juncture Matchett resided at 368 Maryland Ave. and WPW at 402 Sixth St., N.W.
 66. Matchett to WPW, Washington, 30 Oct. 1883, in *Sunday Gazette*, 4 Nov. 1883. Newspaper quote on Ashley from Hans L. Trefousse, *Impeachment of a President: Andrew Johnson, the Blacks, and Reconstruction* ([Knoxville, 1975]), p. 50.
 67. For a list of recipients and sums allotted see *Awards for the Capture of Booth and Others: Letter from the Secretary of War* . . . 18 April 1866, Ex Doc. #90, House of Representatives, 39th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, 1866, leaflet).

The Integration of Baltimore's Polytechnic Institute: A Reminiscence

ROSZEL C. THOMSEN

IN 1954 THE SUPREME COURT OF THE United States handed down a landmark decision, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 347 U.S. 483, holding that racial segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. At the time of that decision Maryland and many other states provided separate schools for white and colored students; those schools were supposed to be equal as well as separate. Article 32, section 22 of the Baltimore City Code (1950), provided:

It is hereby made the duty of the Board of School Commissioners of the City of Baltimore to organize separate schools for colored children, and to establish as many schools for the education of the colored children of Baltimore City as may in the judgment of said Board be necessary.

During the summer of 1952, two years before the decision in *Brown v. Board*, a group of sixteen colored boys applied for admission to the ninth grade of the Advanced College Preparatory Curriculum (the "A" course) at the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute, an all-white school, which had long been recognized as one of the best technical high schools in the United States. The staff of the Department advised the members of the Board of School Commissioners, of which I was then President, that ten of the boys met all of the criteria established for entrance into the Polytechnic "A" course, except that they were not white.

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That curriculum was offered only at the Polytechnic Institute and was not available in any other school, white or colored. It differed from others offered in the Baltimore public schools by providing, in addition to a standard high school program, courses which were recognized by certain colleges as being the equivalent of one year of college work in their engineering schools, thus making it possible for graduates of the program to enter with advanced standing the engineering program at Cornell, Hopkins, Lehigh, and other engineering colleges. In the eleventh and twelfth grades the Polytechnic "A" course included work which was not offered in any other Baltimore high school: calculus, analytic chemistry, electricity, heat engines, mechanics and surveying.

The City Solicitor, in response to our request for his advice with respect to our powers and obligations, called attention to the following language from the opinion of the Court of Appeals of Maryland in the case of *University of Maryland v. Murray*, 169 Md. 478 (1936):

As a result of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, a state is required to extend to its citizens of the two races substantially equal treatment in the facilities it provides from the public funds. . . .

Equality of treatment does not require that privileges be provided members of the two races in the same place. The state may choose the method by which equality is maintained. . . .

Separation of the races must nevertheless furnish equal treatment. The constitutional provision cannot be dispensed with in order to maintain a school or schools for

whites exclusively. That requirement comes first. . . .

He also referred us to certain decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in accord with the foregoing statement.

The most recent case in the Supreme Court of the United States at that time was *Briggs v. Elliott*, 342 U.S.350 (1952). From that case it appeared that the constitutional test was not whether there was then in existence a curriculum or course in the colored high schools equal to the Polytechnic "A" course, but whether such a curriculum or course equal to the Polytechnic "A" course could be established within a reasonable time. In the *Murray* case the Court of Appeals of Maryland had said:

Compliance with the Constitution cannot be deferred at the will of the State. Whatever system it adopts for legal education now must furnish equality of treatment now.

In view of the fact that all of the applicants would be entering the ninth grade, it would not be necessary to offer immediately in a colored school tenth, eleventh or twelfth grade subjects similar to such subjects in the Polytechnic "A" course, but only to have them available as and when the boys reached these subjects in succeeding years.

During July, while I was on vacation, John R. Sherwood, as Acting President of the Board of School Commissioners, instructed Dr. Lemmel, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Dr. Taylor, Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Schools, to plan for one of the colored schools and report to the Board a curriculum which would be equivalent of the Polytechnic "A" course, if that were possible, offering in the year beginning in September the subjects which are offered in the ninth grade of the Polytechnic "A" course, and having available in the future years the other subjects as they are reached.

At a public meeting of the Board in early September 1952 to consider the applications, I advised the Board that it had little discretion in the matter. The policy of segregation was established by the City Code, and the School Board had no power to change it. That policy, however, was subject

to the overriding demands of the Constitution of the United States, as set out in the *Murray* case. Therefore, the only real question before the Board was whether the proposed curriculum in one of the colored schools, which had been planned by the staff, would be substantially equal to the Polytechnic "A" course. If it would be substantially equal, then under the City Code we must continue the policy of separate schools. If it would not be substantially equal to the Polytechnic "A" course, then under the Constitution of the United States we must admit the boys to the Polytechnic "A" course, or abolish that curriculum.

Superintendent Lemmel, who was then requested to give his recommendation, made the following statement:

Near the close of school in the spring, sixteen Negro boys applied for admission to the 'A' course at the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute. At least ten of these boys were fully qualified under our rules for admission, three more were probably qualified, and the other three, having already completed the ninth and tenth grades in junior high school, would not find it to their advantage to repeat much of the work that they had already done in order to meet the 'A' course requirements. . . . Since there are eligible students, and in line with the interim instructions of the Board, the staff prepared plans for a pre-Engineering 'A' course to be offered at Douglass High School. In considering the question whether a Negro boy would receive equal educational opportunities at the proposed pre-engineering 'A' course at Douglass High School, as against the 'A' course at the Polytechnic Institute, there are four factors which should be considered: (1) the curriculum; (2) the quality of instruction; (3) the facilities; and (4) the recognition for advanced standing which the student would receive in engineering schools, and for local employment. We could offer exactly the same curriculum and, for all practical purposes, offer the same quality of instruction so far as providing trained teachers is concerned, at another school. Facilities could be made approximately equal, even though the Douglass High School was a very crowded school. Whether a student graduating from a new 'A' program in a high school which is offering the program for the first time, under crowded conditions, would receive sophomore

standing at the better engineering schools as readily as he would receive such standing if he had graduated from the Polytechnic 'A' course, was open to question. Likewise, whether a Negro boy seeking local employment—where his training would be an important consideration and Polytechnic is highly regarded—would receive equal recognition and opportunity for employment from an 'A' course in a new school, as against the 'A' course at Polytechnic, was also open to question.

J. Carey Taylor, Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Secondary Schools, presented a detailed report on the plan which had been developed to establish at Douglass High School an Advanced College Preparatory curriculum identical with the one offered at the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute. He stated, *inter alia*, that it should not be difficult to obtain fully qualified teachers for the students admitted to that curriculum. He also stated that the Director of Admissions of three colleges, Cornell, Lehigh, and Johns Hopkins University, to which large numbers of Polytechnic "A" course boys go, were asked whether or not they would grant advanced standing to graduates of another Baltimore High School if the second school offered the same curriculum as the "A" course at the Polytechnic Institute. All three gave approximately the same reply. First, that such students would unquestionably be given an opportunity to enroll. Second, that each applicant would be judged on his own record, regardless of the school from which he came. Third, that it had been customary to give advanced standing to the Polytechnic "A" course boys for many years because such students always made good, and if the privilege of advanced standing were to be continued for graduates of another school it would be necessary for them to duplicate the good work of the Polytechnic boys in college. In each case it was stated that color was no consideration.

Houston R. Jackson, Assistant Superintendent for the Colored Schools, made a statement in which he indicated that, in his opinion, serious injustice would be done to the applicants if their applications were disapproved. He stressed the harmful effects of segregation and discrimination upon children.

Wilmer A. DeHuff, principal of the Polytechnic Institute, made a statement in which he reviewed the history of the school, and noted that the nature of the course was then college preparatory rather than utilitarian. He stated that any accredited school which will insist upon quality of achievement and diligent application on the part of the faculty, as well as on the part of the students, should be able to offer a program leading to sophomore standing upon graduation from high school. This presupposes adequate facilities, but the extent of such experimental facilities is not so important as the quality of student performance.

Furman L. Templeton, Executive Director of the Baltimore Urban League, spoke as a representative of a committee of citizens interested in securing favorable action upon the applications. He introduced Marshall A. Levin, an attorney, now a respected judge of the Circuit Court for Baltimore City, who reviewed the decisions of the Supreme Court dealing with the education of Negro students, and argued that those decisions support the recommendation that the applications of the boys should be approved.

J. Percy Bond, Director of Admissions, Morgan State College, also spoke on behalf of the applicants and stressed the necessity of providing equality in all of the environmental factors, as well as in the specific elements of the program as set forth by the staff.

Professor Robert H. Roy, Assistant Dean of the School of Engineering, Johns Hopkins University, stated that in his opinion there could be no assurance that graduates of a proposed course at Douglass High School would receive recognition equal to that accorded the graduates of the Polytechnic Institute. He stressed the excellent and unique reputation of the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute and the wealth of experience of the faculty in the field of pre-engineering education. It was Professor Roy's opinion that these elements could not be provided in the foreseeable future at Douglass, and that, therefore, the program proposed would not be the equal of the one now offered at the Polytechnic Institute.

Representatives of the alumni associations of the Polytechnic Institute and the Baltimore City College (an all-white male

high school) spoke in favor of the establishment of the program at Douglass.

The Chairman of the Maryland Commission on Inter-Racial Problems and Relations commended the Board for its careful study of the situation, and expressed the hope that if the proposed program at Douglass was found unequal to the Polytechnic program, the boys be admitted to the Polytechnic Institute.

The final speaker was Thurgood Marshall, now a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who was then counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He summarized the Supreme Court cases bearing on the question. He stressed particularly the need for providing the boys whose cases were under consideration the opportunity to attend a school where not the only program, staff and physical equipment, but also the reputation and recognition would be equivalent to those enjoyed by Polytechnic students. He stated that the question of segregation was not involved—the issue turning simply on the question of the overall equality of the two programs.

The Board went into executive session in an anteroom, discussed the issues and agreed with my suggestion that we should vote first on the question whether the proposed course at Douglass would be equal to the "A" course offered at Polytechnic. We also agreed that under the existing law that vote would be decisive of the question whether the qualified boys would be admitted to the "A" course at Polytechnic, and that each member should have the right to explain the reasons for his or her vote. We knew from our *in camera* discussion how each member would probably vote, but the people who filled every available cubic inch in the hearing room did not know, and I have never seen a more tense and quiet group.

By reason of the way the members were

seated around the table, and our customary method of voting, from my left to my right, the six men voted before either of the women. The men split three to three, each explaining his vote at length. The two women voted "no"—that the proposed course at Douglass would not be equal to the existing course at Polytechnic. That decided the question without my vote, but I said that if it had been a tie my vote would have been "no."

I then stated that, subject to being overruled by the Board, the boys who had applied would be admitted to the Polytechnic "A" course, unless the City Solicitor, who was present, had something to add. He stated that he had nothing further to say, and I declared that the Negro students who had applied would be admitted. I suggested that the parents of the Negro students, and others interested in them, discuss with Dr. Lemmel and members of his staff the best ways to provide for the guidance of the prospective students; that the School Board expects the Polytechnic Institute to accept these new students as it would any other students, to mark them as severely but not more severely than other boys are marked, and to fail them on the same basis as any other boys, because we are interested in maintaining the high standards of the Polytechnic Institute. Mr. Marshall and Mr. Templeton agreed with this statement.

Mr. DeHuff, the principal of Polytechnic, handled the matter very wisely. A day or so before classes started, he called to his office the leaders of the school, including the class presidents and captains of the athletic teams, and assigned one of them to each of the incoming boys, to see that they were integrated promptly and properly into the student body. They were, and thereby Baltimore was able to implement its own landmark decision a year and a half before the decision in *Brown v. Board*.

Demographics and Culture: The 1980 Census Report on Lumbee Indians of the Baltimore Metropolitan Area

ABRAHAM MAKOFSKY

IT IS NOT A STARTLING OBSERVATION to remark that many factors—economic, political, sociocultural—have had a decided effect on the demographic changes that the census reports about the Lumbee Indians in Baltimore. Some of the elements are internal to the Lumbee people, that is, such traditions as whom one should marry, how many children one should have, the right kind of occupation, where one should live, and how important education is for one's children. Other and more weighty influences come from outside the Lumbee community: the condition of the economy, government policies (both national and local), and the general community institutions, norms and values. Small as they are in numbers, about .2 percent of the area's population, and dependent on the dominant society for jobs, laws, housing and almost all daily needs, it is within the framework that the wider society sets that the Indian tradition has to find its expression.

Separating internal and external influences is, however, helpful only in making clear that some elements have roots in Lumbee tradition, as against others over which they have little or no control. In reality, there is an interplay of Lumbee aspirations and outside pressures and because they are at times in conflict, what the Lumbees will decide to do cannot be predicted with any certainty. Take, for example, intermarriage with non-Indians. Lum-

bees historically have not resisted exogamous unions; even the prized folk explanation of their origins is that they are descendants of the mix of white settlers of the Lost Colony of Roanoke Island (who disappeared between 1587 and 1590) and the Hatteras Indians who then inhabited that island. But several centuries of harsh discrimination followed this, through the Civil War and past the mid-twentieth century. In their home area of Robeson County, North Carolina and in the surrounding counties they suffered all the known forms of exclusion: they were deprived of voting rights, not allowed to live in many sections, not admitted to white-controlled restaurants, kept in segregated schools, denied various jobs, and prevented by custom from racially-mixed socializing. Note that the Indians never accepted any of this submissively, which is another important trait of the Lumbees. So important has this been to them that, in connection with mixed socializing, when Klansmen gathered at a rally in 1956 to warn Indians about dating white women, the Indians responded forcefully and the Klansmen fled the scene of "battle."¹

Thus, outside custom notwithstanding, Indian-white dating and marriage have not been uncommon and this is even more true in Baltimore than in Robeson County. I have reported elsewhere on a study I completed in 1982, in which a small sample of Baltimore-area Lumbees were interviewed on a number of issues.² When asked whether Indians should marry non-Indians, there was a sharp division in views: 17 were opposed and 15 were in favor. How-

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ever, of youth under 25 years old, mostly born in Baltimore, 9 were in favor, 3 were opposed, and 2 were uncertain. Of the 6 in this under 25 group who had married, all had chosen a non-Indian spouse, but three of them were already separated or divorced. Older Indians were generally opposed to intermarriage.

The example given above points to a way in which to gain a better understanding of the demographics that the 1980 census reports for the Indian people. Commenting on the intermarriage picture opens up several facets of Lumbee history and culture: they are willing to mix and accept other peoples, a fact that Blu³ suggests has been a significant explanation of their resilience as a people in the face of discrimination. And while they are not militants in dealing with grievances—Indians have told me they will quit a job rather than complain if a boss has been unfair to them—they resist being pushed around and will assert their rights as they see them. This trait has been commented on by Johnson⁴ and Makofsky in various studies, and can explain their moves into sections of the metropolitan area despite local opposition.

The Census Data

At the outset, several qualifying observations need to be made as to the reliability of figures that are given in both the 1970 and 1980 censuses for Lumbee Indians in Baltimore. First, to be counted as an Indian, the individual had to say that she or he was Indian. In 1970, and also in 1980 although less frequently so, many Indians were hesitant about identifying a Lumbee affiliation. Lumbees had been written about negatively in the Baltimore press in the 1950s and the 1960s, and the name itself was questioned by many of them. In 1969, for example, an Indian friend told me of a relative who lived in Baltimore County. Seeking an interview in connection with my studies, I called the relative, but he denied any connection with Indians. Again, in a study of Lumbee ethnic identity I carried out in 1981–1982, I sought an interview with a college student because mutual friends had said that he was Indian. The young man agreed that his father was a

native of Robeson County, North Carolina, and the father called himself an Indian. But he added that his mother was white and that was how he regarded himself, and he rejected any Indian identification.

Second, it should be noted that there are undoubtedly Indians in Baltimore City who were not counted, just as many cities have claimed in relation to the census figures for the poor and the transients. My 1970 study reported on several Indians who said that they had not responded to the census questionnaire. I did not make inquiries about missing responses in the 1980 survey, but I think one can fairly question the preciseness of the figures that are given for the Indians in the city.

Third, I am making the assumption that by far the greatest number of Indians who live in the Baltimore metropolitan area are Lumbees; that is, that the individual is a native of Robeson County or its environs in North Carolina, or that one or both parents were or are natives of that area. (Since some of the younger children are second generation natives of Baltimore, one might have to consider the birthplace of grandparents also.) I have made friends with and studied these Indians since 1969, so that I can only immodestly call my assumption an educated guess. There may be, however, some question about the Lumbee affiliation of Indians who are attached to army bases in Anne Arundel County (Fort Meade) and Harford County (Aberdeen Proving Grounds).

Fourth, the 1970 analysis of Lumbee people in the Baltimore Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) offered only gross figures as to population numbers. It did not specify age groupings, education and income levels, etc. Comparisons are thus difficult to make with the 1980 census which does give some of the additional detail. There is a small problem with this in the latter report, for in some instances the Indians are lumped together in a category called "American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut." However, the latter two are obviously not a big part of the category. For example, in Baltimore City, the number of Indians is reported as 2,108 as against five Eskimos and six Aleuts. The figures for

Baltimore County also show the far greater number of Indians—773 of the latter as against eight Eskimos and eight Aleuts.⁵

Fifth, Table 1 below gives the accurate 100 percent count of the Indian population of the area. However, in the tables⁶ that follow (age groupings, labor forces, income, etc.) the count is distorted because these more detailed analyses are based upon a sample data, that is, households are expanded to represent the full population. The latter figures will therefore not agree with the numbers given in Table 1.

Population Size and Areas of Residence

The number of Indians in the Baltimore area is reported as 4,134 as against the 1970 figure of 2,588, a growth of 62 percent. In 1970 the Indian Center questioned the count and in their submission of proposals for various grants, claimed an Indian population of 3,500, and in the latter part of the 1970s raised that number to 4,500. The recent census total seems to support that claim.

One can only speculate as to whether the increase is real and, if it is, how to account for the change. It may be, as noted earlier, that the 1970 count was wrong and the greater numbers now reported are due to people more readily identifying themselves as Indian. If, however, there were real growth in the Indian community, it is doubtful that it came from any wave of outmigration of Robeson County Indians; the 1980 census of Robeson County shows 35,507 Indians as against the 1970 figure of 26,486.⁷ It may possibly be due to an increase in the birth rate among Baltimore

Indians. Many of them came to the city before 1970 as single people and are now married and raising a family here. Quite a few have intermarried with whites, as I noted in an earlier study, and the children are most often identified as Indian.

As Table 1 indicates, the city is still the main area of Indian residence. However, the City not only showed the smallest percentage of increase in the decade; the number of new Indian residents was greater in Anne Arundel and Baltimore counties than newcomers to the City (406 and 400 as against 368). The extent of Indian residence in the counties reported in the 1970 census was not expected because there had been known incidents of efforts to keep Indians from moving into many county and city areas. Obviously, the trend has been stronger and within the counties new communities of Indian residence seem to have been established during the decade. For example, in Anne Arundel County where in 1970 Indians had mostly lived around Glen Burnie, 1980 showed substantial numbers in Severna Park, Stewarts Corner, and Mountain Road. In Baltimore County, apart from big increases in Essex (from 32 to 107) and Towson (21 to 63), Reisterstown has a new community of 50 Indians. Harford County saw the Edgewood Indian group increase from 19 to 100, and in Howard County, 87 Indians now live in Columbia.

In the city, both in 1970 and 1980, Highlandtown had the largest Indian population, and it increased in the decade from 475 to 801. East Baltimore Indian figures fell from 415 to 281. This decline probably

TABLE 1.
1970 and 1980 Baltimore SMSA Indian Population and Percentage of Change

| Location | Population in 1970 Census | Population in 1980 Census | Percentage Change (%) |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Baltimore City | 1,740 | 2,108 | +62 |
| Anne Arundel County | 293 | 699 | +21 |
| Baltimore County | 373 | 773 | +241 |
| Carroll County | 32 | 75 | +107 |
| Harford County | 80 | 292 | +265 |
| Howard County | 37 | 187 | +405 |
| Totals | 2,555 | 4,134 | +62 |

reflects the urban renewal effort of the city to which Indians reacted by moving a few blocks east and south, which brought more of them into Highlandtown. As to new sections of Indian residence in the city, Hamilton had 61 Indians in 1980, and others either increased or declined slightly.

There were 839 married couples and a considerable number of the spouses are not Indian. Of these, 521 couples had their own children living with them. There were also 197 mother-headed households with her own children but without a husband present; and 38 father-headed households with his children in the home, but without a wife present.

Age Groupings

The figures given in Table 2 below report the sample data of Indian households, and they are, in several instances, substantially different from the actual Census count given in the previous table.

A significant statistic is that 7 percent of the Indians in the Baltimore area were under 5 years of age (11 percent in Robeson County) as compared with 6 percent of the SMSA population in that category. The latter statistic is cited because in my 1971 interviews with Indians of the area, both men and women said that they do not want to have as many children as their parents did.⁸ I noted then that my six key informants reported siblings that numbered respectively 3, 8, 9, 11, 12 and 14. It appears that the young adult Lumbees of the past decade have tackled that problem to some extent.

The over 65 age group represents 4 percent of the Indian population as compared with 10 percent in the total area population (6 percent in Robeson County). Part of this

is explained by the fact that not very many Indian elderly people moved to the city in the migrations of the past decades, and the objective for many of those reaching senior citizenship in the city is to return "home" to North Carolina. However, because the over 65 Indian population both in Baltimore and North Carolina is considerably below national figures, perhaps Lumbee Indians have a shorter life span than other peoples in the United States.

Another feature of the 1971 study was the impression I gained that there were far fewer women in the young adult and adult age groups than men, and I suggested that this might account for the marital and other intimate relationships of Lumbee men and non-Indian women. Indian friends at the time said that Baltimore had the reputation of much violence, and women were hesitant about coming to the area, unless there were relatives who could help if there were trouble. The 1980 census still shows women as a minority in the 15 to 59 year age group (46 percent) although females constitute 52 percent of the total Indian population of the area.

Indians in the Labor Force

Through the more than 40 years of an Indian community in Baltimore, looking for jobs has been the overriding reason why most of them have come to the city. Employment and other discriminatory biases against them in North Carolina were one part of the picture; the other element was that their home area was mostly rural farm country with few openings for other work. However, several factories opened up there beginning in the mid-1960s and Indians weighed alternatives of making a living near to or far from their families.

TABLE 2.
Age Groupings in 1980 Census for the Counties and the City

| Age | Baltimore City | Anne Arundel | Baltimore County | Carroll | Harford | Howard |
|-----------|----------------|--------------|------------------|---------|---------|--------|
| Under 5 | 132 | 82 | 49 | 7 | 51 | 6 |
| 5 to 14 | 413 | 129 | 202 | 7 | 74 | 29 |
| 15 to 59 | 1,465 | 503 | 633 | 47 | 278 | 118 |
| 60 to 64 | 47 | 23 | 38 | 0 | 5 | 10 |
| 65 + over | 113 | 28 | 32 | 5 | 9 | 4 |
| Totals | 2,170 | 764 | 954 | 66 | 417 | 167 |

Table 3 reports on how they were succeeding in this key issue as of 1980.

Of the civilian labor force of 2,092 Indians, 13 percent were unemployed as compared with an unemployment rate for the total area population of 7 percent. The percentage is probably even higher in both instances, as has often been noted, because there are additional "discouraged" individuals who no longer seek work and are therefore not counted. Baltimore City had, as expected, the highest rate among Indians (20 percent); Carroll County recorded no Indian unemployment. It should be noted that the latter county also has the largest percentage of Indians who have completed four or more years of college.

Robeson County is reported as having an Indian unemployment rate of 8 percent but the kinds of jobs and wage scales—the latter being much lower than those of the Baltimore area—may have acted as a deterrent to returning to the traditional home.

Women are 36 percent of the workforce among Indians. In this connection, I note that Indian husbands—fathers in the city often said to me during the 1971 study that they wished their wives would be able to stay at home and take care of the children. Despite this sense of male and female roles, many of the wives—mothers I have known were working then and are working now—whenever they can find a job.

No racial breakdown of occupations is available at present. In the 1971 study, while it was an impressionistic judgment,

it seemed clear that most Indians of the Baltimore area were in the building trades (painters, dry wall, some carpenters, roofers and bricklayers), and factory workers, with the latter category including most of the women workers. There were some professionals (although not many) and these were teachers and social workers. An impressionistic judgment of the 1980 period is that the category of white collar managerial and professional workers has increased considerably.

Family Income

The available census material offers only the arithmetic mean in its breakdown of family income by race, and this is presented below.

Baltimore City Indians, not unexpectedly, had the lowest average family income as compared with Indians in other parts of the metropolitan area. An interesting comparison with other racial and ethnic groups shows Indians in the city and in three counties (Baltimore, Howard and Carroll) having the lowest average family income. Surprisingly, in Harford County, Indian family income was the highest of all groups.

Because some very high or very low incomes bring a distorted picture of the average family conditions, the statistic on people below the poverty level is a helpful corrective. Table 4 notes that 36 percent of the Indians in the City were below that standard (\$7,356 for a family consisting of 2 adults and 2 children in the Baltimore

TABLE 3.
Labor Force—15 Years Old And Older—Baltimore SMSA, 1980

| | Armed Forces | | Civilian Employed | | Unemployed | | Not In Labor Force | |
|------------------|--------------|---|-------------------|-----|------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| Baltimore City | 15 | 5 | 489 | 272 | 117 | 71 | 202 | 384 |
| *Anne Arundel | 44 | 0 | 246 | 87 | 22 | 7 | 28 | 107 |
| Baltimore County | 0 | 0 | 256 | 205 | 9 | 13 | 25 | 187 |
| Carroll | 0 | 0 | 22 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 7 |
| *Harford | 30 | 0 | 99 | 35 | 0 | 23 | 8 | 74 |
| Howard | 0 | 0 | 58 | 29 | 14 | 0 | 15 | 10 |
| Totals | 89 | 5 | 1,170 | 646 | 162 | 114 | 283 | 769 |

* With army bases located in these counties it is very possible that Indians counted here are not Lumbee.

TABLE 4.
Mean Family Income of Indians in the SMSA, 1980

| | Mean | Number Above Poverty Level | Number Below Poverty Level | Percent Below Poverty Level |
|------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Baltimore City | \$13,851 | 1,328 | 758 | 36 |
| Anne Arundel | 23,776 | 610 | 92 | 13 |
| Baltimore County | 20,369 | 787 | 136 | 15 |
| Carroll | 18,288 | 47 | 19 | 29 |
| Harford | 27,124 | 282 | 99 | 26 |
| Howard | 23,737 | 163 | 4 | 2 |

SMSA). Although Harford County apparently has some fairly high income Indians, there are still 26 percent of the group who are poor. As for Robeson County, the average family income was \$14,134, which is higher than their compatriots in Baltimore City but lower than those who lived in the counties (and lower than the mean of all Indian families in the Baltimore SMSA, \$21,190). The poverty level for Robeson County is not specified in the material available, but by their standards 28 percent of the Indians were below the line.

Education

Lumbee history highlights the fact that they have for many years placed high value on education. Pembroke State University in Robeson County was founded in 1887 as the Croatan Normal School, a teacher-training institute, and through the years, Indians have pointed to it as a proud achievement. Nevertheless, poverty and the burdens of eking out a living as sharecroppers and tenant farmers meant that high educational aspirations of parents for their children were often put aside. In effect, the Indians who came to Baltimore were often the less educated Lumbees. Among the 27 Indians whom I interviewed, talked with and observed in the 1971 study, 17 had only a grade school education and ten were basically unable to read and write.

Table 5 presents, therefore, some unexpected figures on the educational levels of Indians 25 years and older in 1980.

What is surprising is that 33 percent of the total Indian group have finished high school and attended or completed college. Because the 1357 in the latter category are

TABLE 5.
Years of School Completed By Indians 25
Years Old and Over in the Baltimore SMSA,
1980

| | Number |
|----------------------------|--------|
| Elementary (0 to 8 years) | 598 |
| High School (1 to 3 years) | 533 |
| High School (4 years) | 721 |
| College (1 to 3 years) | 395 |
| College (4 years or more) | 241 |
| Total | 2,488 |

25 years and older, the percentage of all Indians of similar age is inevitably much higher. Comparable figures for Robeson County point to 16 percent over 25 years of age who had graduated from high school and others who went on to do college work. Additionally, for the Baltimore area Indians, the census shows also that 418 Indians of all ages are still in high school or attending college. While some of the latter may be included in the over 25 statistic, it is likely that those still at school would be younger, thus adding to a conclusion that educational achievement among them has progressed considerably.

There are two possible reasons for this change: that better educated Indians have been attracted to the Baltimore area, perhaps because the opportunities for employment are better than back home; or that Indian children and youth have been encouraged in Baltimore to strive at least for a high school education. The latter is true for a number of Indian families I have known, but school attendance is still not a minor problem for Indian children. Indian parents and children in the counties seem

to be better educational achievers than those in the city—the city has the smallest ratio (25 percent) of the over 25 group with at least high school diplomas, and the reports of difficulties for school children also speak mostly to the City school experience.

Housing

There were 932 housing units occupied by Indian renters and 433 units owned by the Indians who resided there. Baltimore City had the most Indian homeowners (144) but Anne Arundel County with many fewer Indians had 141 owners, Carroll County reported no homeowners among its Indian residents.

Discussion and Conclusion

While I have not identified the economic swings, government actions and wider societal events that have occurred over the past decade, I want to emphasize the overarching influence that these forces have had on population changes among the Baltimore Indians. When the economy is in good shape, Indians have bettered their position. One can cite as an example, the situation in the early 1970s, when the General Motors plant, under pressure to hire minorities, asked the Indian Center to send people to them. Many Indians found steady jobs there, earned the high wages that were won in union contracts, saved some money, and some of them moved to the suburbs and became homeowners. Thus, public policy, a viable economy and a strong union combined to change the demographics about where they live and how much they earn.

In this article, I have concentrated on the facts of change and speculated about the connection between the changes and some of the elements related to Lumbee cultural ways. As to the actual population data, with the questions that are raised about the 1970 census report, it is not certain whether some changes are real or simply reflect a more accurate count in 1980. Assuming however the validity of a comparison of the two reports, let us note a sizeable increase in the numbers of Indians who live in the area. Less questionable is the conclusion that Indians have moved more freely to the suburbs and, in the instances of Baltimore

and Anne Arundel counties, the number of new suburbanites exceeds that of newcomers to the city. It is also significant that they have moved into areas from which they had heretofore been excluded whether through the formal or informal actions of earlier residents. Income has, in the averages, kept pace with that of other racial and ethnic groups, although Indian earnings still remain far below the average levels of white people. The proportion of Indians below the poverty level is high and the unemployment rate is considerably higher than both area and city figures. The income data suggests that there is a sharper division appearing between some Indians who are doing well financially and many others who are struggling to make ends meet. The surprising numbers with high school diplomas and more advanced education points to the probability of more white collar, managerial and professional working people, which is also an impressionistic judgment based on many informal contacts with Indians.

I have referred to the cultural connections of some of the changed demographic features, noting their efforts to concretize the historical value their people placed on education. Although the census data is too sketchy to confirm the link, I have said that new demographic features manifest the Lumbee readiness to accept and mix with outsiders at all levels, including intermarriage. There is an important by-product of this conclusion. In previous studies I noted that Lumbee Indians, like many other ethnic groups in the United States, essentially parallel the ideas and aspirations of the wider society. Nevertheless, because of exclusionary attitudes and practices of dominant groups in Baltimore the Lumbee primary networks of friendship and intimate contacts have been essentially with other Indians even while they took on secondary affiliations in unions and other organizations. Perhaps there is now a new stage in Lumbee relationships with the outside world and the primary networks with the latter will play a more prominent part in their sense of affiliation.

I have also identified their assertiveness and think the data reflects this value. There is yet another trait, related to assertiveness

which the population features may bring out. Lumbees as a people in North Carolina have been very political in trying to reach community aims. In the period before the Civil War, they were not recognized as Indians and were classified as "free colored." After the war they lobbied the state legislature to gain recognition of their Indian identity. Then followed 70 years of petitioning with the state legislature, the Indian Bureau (now the Bureau of Indian Affairs), and the Congress of the United States until, in 1956, the Congress recognized them officially as the "Lumbee Indians of North Carolina."

Despite this tradition of political struggle, the impressionistic and anecdotal yet clear evidence is that Baltimore Indians have been very apolitical through the years. Many have not bothered to register or vote. The impressionistic judgment is now that Indians are beginning to exercise their political privilege. The educational levels suggest that this would inevitably be so and the efforts of the Indian Center to develop this concern among local Lumbees are beginning to bear fruit.

It seems to me that the census data confirms that Indians of the area are in a transition stage. Their own historical val-

ues and practices influence them but so do the societal forces of an urban industrial area. In effect, this interesting mixture suggests a demographic perspective of many new developments when the next census is taken.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The General Assembly of Maryland, 1776-1850.
By Carl N. Everstine. (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, 1982. Pp. x, 624.)

Three trends emerge from this study of Maryland's General Assembly: the steady growth of governments at the local level; the separation of the public from the private sectors; and government becoming increasingly administrative.

The author begins with a description of the new state's first constitution in 1776 and the problems of this new government in 1777. Successive chapters cover the remainder of the Revolutionary period and then Maryland's development to 1850.

Unfortunately, the periodization of this latter time is not always clear. For example, chapter 4, "A State in the Federal Union, 1785-1695," discusses Maryland's legislative history in the context of a radically changing nature of the Federal Union embodied in the new Federal constitution of 1789. The author spends approximately five pages describing the movement to changing the Federal Union, but we are not told what impact this new Federal order had upon Maryland's legislative developments. The reader might easily infer it had none. Yet earlier Everstine makes this provocative observation: "The General Assembly moved during the 1790s to ascertain what parts of the English common law remained applicable in Maryland, and also to improve its facilities for knowing and finding its own statutory law." (p. 167). The implications of such a statement for strengthening state powers and local government in the new Federal order go unexamined.

Other chapters are more logical and consistent. Local government was strengthened in 1810 when county levy court officers became elective instead of appointive; the property qualification for voting for state-wide offices ended; and viva voce voting was replaced by the ballot. 1826 marked a new (and ultimately disastrous) era in the government's involvement in public works to promote commercial growth. The constitutional reforms of 1836 are correctly treated in a separate chapter, but the important developments from 1837 to 1850 seem sandwiched together in the final chapter. Curiously, Maryland's first industrial depression from 1837 to 1843 apparently had less impact upon the General Assembly developments than did a new publication—*The Baltimore Sun*.

This volume is mainly an internal history of

the working of the General Assembly written from the printed journals of both houses. Occasionally, secondary and other primary sources are used. The narrative is descriptive rather than analytical but the index is very usable.

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The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series One: Speeches, Debates and Interviews. Vol. 2; 1847-54. Ed. by John W. Blassingame, et al. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982. Pp. xxxvii, 613. Appendix, notes, index. \$45.00.)

In this, the second volume of the projected 14-volume *Frederick Douglass Papers*, the editors maintain the same high standards established in the first. The book follows the black abolitionist orator from his return from his successful tour of the British Isles to the United States in 1847, when the country was in the midst of war with Mexico, through passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854.

From the editors' judicious selections from Douglass' many speeches and addresses (59 of approximately 650 from this period are printed here), it is not difficult to discern Douglass' growing poise, confidence, and aggressiveness as a speaker and debater. Clearly, the British sojourn seasoned him as a platform performer; he had learned to handle himself well before sophisticated audiences. The likelihood of remaining the vassal of Garrison or of anyone else was therefore remote. Whatever the reasons traditionally advanced for his break with Garrison, it is clear from a close reading of these speeches that Douglass simply became more intellectually and emotionally independent, more his own person. As a black man, his experience was simply not like that of white abolitionists. He had been a slave. As a free Negro, he had to endure the growing hostility of the American people toward their black co-nationals, slave and free, reflected in these years in the passage of severe anti-Negro laws by federal and state governments. Even before returning to the United States, Douglass had concluded the absolute necessity that black people, especially the slaves, have a "representative," one who because he had experienced their trials could best articulate the feelings and aspirations of a voiceless people. He would be that voice.

As Douglass approached the height of his intellectual powers in the early 1850's, two closely related ideas undergirded his thought: the humanity of the Negro and the praxis of freedom. The idea had continually to be voiced, he firmly believed, because white people, including abolitionists, were all too prone to forget it: black people were human beings, in the divine and natural order of things brothers to white people. In a heated exchange with the negro-phobe, Tammany politician, Captain Rynders, in May 1850, Douglass, demonstrating a quick wit and characteristic humor, replied: "He is correct: I am, indeed, only half a negro, a half-brother to Mr. Rynders (roars of laughter)." He would always respond to those who would write black people out of the human race. Hence his lengthy commencement address, the first by a black man in an American college, in Western Reserve College in July 1854, "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered" (the longest piece in the book). Here Douglass dons the robes of the scholar to sustain the thesis of monogenesis and to "prove" the Egyptian origins of blacks and Africans to be part of the human family.

This volume also shows Douglass a thinker ever more committed to the praxis of freedom. From his unalterable belief that black people were human it was but a step to argue that freedom, ordained by God and nature, was universal, that blacks as well as whites were normally free, and that slavery was a sin against the principle of human liberty, a defilement of God. But what was morally right and just was one thing; the black situation was another. To bring what was into harmony with what ought to be demanded struggle, dedication to the process of achieving liberation. As he told those Western Reserve students, he wanted them to consider "a matter of living importance—a matter upon which action as well as thought is required." Believer though he was in the power of words, under the influence of the increasingly perilous situation of black people at mid-century, especially as regards the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Douglass grew impatient with talk and anxious for action in behalf of his down-trodden race. Clearly, debate over whether the Constitution was a pro- or anti-slavery document began to bore him after passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. A few dead slave-catchers, he began to utter, would solve the problem of enforcement of that ungodly and unconstitutional enactment. And though he himself had shifted from moral suasion to political abolition as the preferred method of fighting slavery and prejudice, was it not possible, he suggested, that both could be effective weapons in the struggle for black freedom?

At no time was Douglass, increasingly alienated from his native land by the gulf between its democratic professions and its brutal treatment of its black population, more scathing in his denunciation of America than during these years. His barrage of criticism, laid down in speech after speech, must have discomfited even abolitionist audiences, for here was a black man criticizing white America (which included them). They even may have wondered if here was not an incipient Nat Turner. He certainly infuriated non-abolitionists. For example, during his 1854 trip through Illinois to discuss the Kansas-Nebraska Act, one local newspaper referred to him as "this negro traitor." A religious if not church-going man (his speeches are replete with Biblical references), Douglass excoriated the churches and their ministers, black and white. Himself increasingly drawn to politics as the chief means of ending slavery, he castigated the major parties and their leaders (no one more than Henry Clay) for their cowardice and duplicity. Nothing so aroused his passion as the Fugitive Slave Act, part of Clay's Compromise of 1850. To Douglass, it was the sum of all villainies, catering to the worst passions among whites, spreading fear and consternation among free blacks, and giving new life to the almost-moribund and hated colonization movement (Clay was its major spokesman.). The North not the South was the slave power, for in Douglass' view slavery could not have lasted a day were it not for northern acquiescence and northern prejudice against free blacks. Meantime, other nations were freeing their slaves. What, in the face of all this, was American Fourth of July patriotism if not a travesty? The real patriot was the outsider who called an errant nation to account for its sins.

The bulk of the speeches contained herein clearly were for predominately white audiences since Douglass spoke mainly to such audiences. Included, however, are several given to black audiences, and they are among the most interesting in the book. If Douglass was the representative of blacks to whites, to blacks, if these speeches be any example, he was the somewhat stern advisor. He was not above admonishing the rank and file for their apathy and their vices. Like most black leaders of the day, he stressed moral elevation. It was not enough for free Negroes, whose status came increasingly to occupy his thought, to complain about injustice. They had to demonstrate to the white majority their readiness for equality by hard work, temperance, education, and the acquisition of trade skills. Once achieve the middle class goal of respectability and slavery and prejudice against free persons of color would end, testimony of the depth of Douglass' progressive faith.

But improvement was not only individual; it pertained also to the group. Self-help and racial solidarity had early characterized free black communities. It was not, however, until mid-century, under the impact of the break with Garrison, the growing color proscription, and increasing contact with black leaders like Samuel Ringgold Ward (see the interesting appendix on Douglass and Ward), that Douglass became a somewhat qualified advocate of black self-help. He continued to censure blacks for their failure to support abolitionism. Nor was he always charitable toward black ministers, for in his opinion they were ill-educated and devoted too much attention to otherworldly concerns. Ironically, he denounced white ministers for placing too much emphasis on matters of this world. The difference, of course, was that whites had power and blacks needed more, material as well as spiritual. In some ways, Douglass seemed the outsider even in his dealing with blacks.

Even when most alienated, as indicated in the speeches, Douglass remained the optimist. Hostile though he was toward the functioning of American institutions, he nonetheless kept his criticism within the bounds prescribed by evangelical Protestantism and the political liberalism embraced by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Mingled with criticism was the appeal to the American's better selves, to a sense of *true* Christianity and patriotism. For Douglass was a firm believer in the liberal ideal of human perfectability, underlying which was his faith that God was indeed on the side of the oppressed. "The annexation of Texas—the Florida War—the war with Mexico—the compromise measures and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise," he declared in 1854, "have all signally vindicated the wisdom of that great God, who has promised to overrule the wickedness of men for His own glory—to confound the wisdom of the crafty and bring to naught the counsels of the ungodly." Reform was universal and the liberation of his people from slavery and prejudice was inevitable. Out of evil did indeed come good. Douglass was confident that the outsider would one day become an insider.

The editors are to be congratulated on another well-conceived and superbly-crafted volume. Their task is no easy one. The years covered here were filled with epochal events in American history. Since most of them related to slavery and race relations, Douglass had considerable to say about all of them on the platform and in print. The editors have succeeded admirably in this arduous process of selection. On the whole, the speeches strike an excellent balance between freshness of thought and the repetition inevitable in the public addresses of one who spoke as often as did Douglass. In these

selections we can follow the evolution of a reformer-agitator who by 1854 was morally tough, mentally agile, platform-wise and able to contend with the most fractious partisans within and beyond the abolitionist circle. The footnotes are a testament to the editor's art: copious, meticulously researched, and ably written. They constitute a veritable biographical and historical dictionary, in themselves a study in American history.

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The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies. By William Hanchett. (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1983, Pp. 303. \$18.50.)

"There is perhaps no event in their history about which the American people have been so shockingly misinformed," William Hanchett writes, than about the murder of President Abraham Lincoln. Quacks, pseudo-historians, and conspiracy buffs have tended to dominate writing on the subject until recently. Appalled, Hanchett does something which many of them will have a reason to fear. He examines what each has had to say in the light of known and well-established facts.

At the outset it is necessary to call to mind the tenor of the early 1860's. The Civil War had brought suffering, hatred and misery to many homes. More than six hundred thousand Americans were dead in a small nation of thirty million. Life was cheap. Some Southerners, seeing the South near collapse, apparently wondered why Lincoln himself should not become a victim of war, "a total war, a war without rules or mercy?" Compounding the danger to the President was Lincoln's own sense of fatalism in regard to potential assassins. He was often heedless of security measures, once saying irritably to a solicitous friend, "I cannot be shut up in an iron cage and guarded."

Hanchett breaks no new ground in his treatment of the murder itself or of those involved in it. Booth, a young Marylander of Southern convictions, planned originally to abduct Lincoln and carry him south to Richmond as a bargaining chip with the North. Booth gathered together an indistinguished flotsam of Confederate soliders, spies, and sympathizers to assist him. They were ready to seize Lincoln in March, 1865, as his carriage passed along 7th Street Road in Washington. A change of plans put the President elsewhere in the city that day, however.

Angry and drinking heavily, Booth had become "a frantic and impulsive zealot" by the night of April 14, 1865. Nevertheless, Hanchett

maintains, his decision to murder the President was last-minute—literally made the day of the attack. He hoped to save the South by bringing down the federal government in the confusion which would follow his act.

After mortally wounding Lincoln, Booth fled and remained at large in southern Maryland for twelve days until he was tracked down and shot to death near Port Royal, Virginia. His body was brought back to Washington, buried for several years at Fort McNair, exhumed in 1869, and reburied in the family plot in Baltimore.

Opinions of the young actor from Bel Air (though not of his act) have varied over the years. For some time after the murder Booth was treated with often surprising generosity, credited with good as well as bad features. Handsome and likeable, he was conceded to have been appealing, talented, and generous, though tragically misguided. To read such accounts is somewhat shocking to the modern eye, Hanchett thinks, as many persons even now cannot credit Booth with attractive qualities without feeling that they are somehow extenuating the murder.

But qualified respect for Booth soon disappeared. As the passions of the wartime generation cooled and Lincoln became a demi-god to both North and South by the turn of the century, Booth sunk as a weight on an opposing scale. He became a fiend. By the 1930's he was being portrayed as evil itself, a demon, a fool, a malicious and vain failure, a coward, a thug, a second-rate actor with a first-rate ego who was more interested in personal glory than Southern rights. Even noted Lincoln biographer Carl Sandburg shared the mood, calling Booth stupid and "scrambled brained."

Psychologists joined in. Booth was not Brutus. He was Oedipus. Lincoln was a stand-in for his own father (a world-renowned actor) whom Booth allegedly loathed and feared because he, the son, was illegitimate. This fact disgraced himself and his mother, to whom he was devoted. The consequence of his hatred was lethal—to the wrong man. Or was the assassin not Oedipus but Cain? An alternate theory has Lincoln substituting for Booth's brother Edwin. One way for Booth to do away with his alleged jealousy for Edwin was simply to do away with Edwin. The murder of the President, considered from these angles, had little to do with politics.

Booth the fool, however, was soon to give way to Booth the tool, as the conspiracy theorists took over assassination historiography. *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?*, a widely discussed Book-of-the-Month Club selection, appeared in 1937. Its author was Otto Eisenschiml, an Austrian-born chemist and businessman from Chicago. Eisenschiml's work raised suspicions that

Secretary of War Edwin Stanton was the malevolent genius behind the assassination. Ambitious for power, he used Booth, then had him murdered to shut him up. The book was carefully constructed. It did its work by innuendo, implication and questionably drawn inferences that convinced casual readers. Facts are not there to support such allegations, however, and as Hanchett concludes correctly, the entire Eisenschiml thesis rests on "misrepresentation of evidence."

More recent elaborations of the "evil genius" conspiracy get far-fetched indeed. One puts Stanton at the center of a busy web, funded by an \$85,000 "hit fund" from Northern businessmen who somehow stood to lose by Lincoln's moderation toward the post-war South. Stanton's alleged malignancy reaches a peak of sorts in 1977 in a popular book and film (thrashed by most historians including Hanchett) where Stanton is found directing four conspiracies against Lincoln involving not only Booth and his associates but also congressmen, industrialists, Union and rebel leaders—apparently everyone but Mrs. O'Leary's cow.

It is a comment on the credulity of the uninformed that these addled ideas ever received attention. *The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies* is wholesome tonic here, for Hanchett skewers these half-baked and fully-baked theories. Judicious, dispassionate, and balanced, his book sets the record straight on undocumented assertions and outright errors regarding the most famous and consequential murder in American history and on the unfortunate part played in it by Maryland's only presidential assassin.

TERRY ALFORD

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Papers of the Women's Trade Union League and its Principal Leaders. Guide to the Microfilm Edition. Edward T. James, editor; assistant editors, Robin Miller Jacoby and Nancy Schrom Dye. (Woodbridge, Conn: Research Publications for the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, 1981. 319 pp. \$65.00.)

This substantial, hardcover guide describes and makes conveniently usable the contents of 129 reels of research material, which, together with 25 reels of records in the Library of Congress, constitute a significant addition to the resources now available for the study of women's, labor, and social history. Brought together in this microfilm publication are large bodies of documents found in Gainesville, Chicago, New York, and Cambridge.

The league and its local units existed from

1903 to the 1950s. It was an amalgam of middle class and working women who endeavored with reasonable success to ameliorate the conditions of employment for millions of working women.

The survival of personal papers and organizational records is a chancy thing. In addition to the national organization and strong local units in New York and Chicago, there was a league in Baltimore (pages 97 and 179). Should those records come to light, they could form a useful supplement to the publication here noted.

FRED SHELLEY
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Mount Vernon Place: An Anecdotal Essay with 66 Illustrations. By John Dorsey. (Baltimore: Maclay & Associates, 1983. 97 pp. \$13.95.)

The subtitle of John Dorsey's latest book, *Mount Vernon Place*, is "An Anecdotal Essay", which sums up exactly what it is. In the foreword he says: "This essay makes no attempt to be a complete history." He is correct. It isn't. On the whole the work is a look at what the late Francis F. Bierne in his delightful *The Amiable Baltimoreans* devoted a chapter to which he called "Society, Capital 'S'."

Over the course of eighty-four pages of text and illustrations, Mr. Dorsey adheres strictly to his chosen subject, Mount Vernon Place. He examines the structures and people that have given the area its flavor over the years without delving too deeply into what was happening elsewhere in the world outside this enclave except when absolutely necessary to his narrative.

The 19th century, when all the structures in the district were built, was Baltimore's golden age, the period in which, as Mr. Dorsey puts it, "the city became an adult." Physically, Mount Vernon Place has changed little since it was built as a residential area and it has been spared the problems of old age that have affected other sections of the city.

To introduce Mount Vernon Place Mr. Dorsey quotes Henry James, who visited Baltimore in 1904 and called this the city's "parlour". It was then at the height of its grandeur, and the home of Baltimore's richest and most influential citizens at a time when bloodlines were terribly important and there was no income tax to threaten the security of amassed wealth. Those who had it used it and those who didn't had not yet begun to resent it but enjoyed the lives of their betters vicariously through society columns in the newspapers. For the well born it was a secure haven with as yet only faint intimations that life would not always continue this way.

Mr. Dorsey then proceeds to take his readers on a tour around the four squares that make up what is called Mount Vernon Place, starting at 7-11 West, the Engineering Center. This was the town house of the legendary Mary Frick Garrett Jacobs, and no fewer than six pages are devoted to her, her possessions, her home, and above all her status as Baltimore's grandest *grande dame* ever. To those of us born after the era when "Society, Capital 'S'" was all-important, Mrs. Jacobs and his importance is hard to fathom, or to put into perspective. Indeed, by today's standards, she seems more than slightly ridiculous and stories of her lavish expenditures and lady bountiful attitude can give even the most ardent conservative slight pangs of social (small s) conscience:

The next, and far more interesting, denizens of the square to be visited are the two Mr. Walters, father William T. and son Henry. Both lived on the square and both were avid collectors of art. The gift to the city of their accumulated collections and the building in which they were housed are, of course, the Walters Art Gallery, and in four pages Mr. Dorsey relates stories about these two men before moving on to the Thomas-Jencks-Gladding House at 1 West Mount Vernon Place. Built in 1849, the house has a number of anecdotes connected with it and the Thomas and Jencks families who, between them, lived there for over a century. They emerge from the section allotted to them as far more understandable than Mrs. Jacobs.

From here attention is directed to the focal point of Mount Vernon Place, the Washington Monument, compared by Henry James to an overlarge, antique clock that "sits in the parlour, generation after generation, silently witnessing the family history." It, and its parklike setting, are discussed before moving across the street to the Mount Vernon Club and other houses on that side of the west square. Mr. Dorsey touches briefly on these structures and the people who lived in them, the Gordons, Marburgs, Bruces, Randalls, Cochrans, et al. There is little information and it is a pity that more is not told about, for instance, Theodore Marburg, whose achievements were of far greater importance to the world than those of Mrs. Jacobs. But, it must be remembered, this is an anecdotal essay, not a history.

George Peabody and the institute he created get four pages. Mr. Dorsey properly cites this gift to the city as "one of the first great philanthropic gestures in America" which inspired others to do likewise. Peabody was not a native Baltimorean which was perhaps why he "couldn't help but notice how culturally deprived Baltimore was", and he set about to cor-

rect the situation by appointing a board of trustees "to establish and endow an Institute . . . which . . . may become useful towards the improvement of the moral and intellectual culture of the inhabitants of Baltimore, and collaterally to those of the State; and also, towards the enlargement and diffusion of a taste for the Fine Arts." This achievement is outlined in both its physical and metaphysical phases.

The north side of East Mount Vernon Place contains the only rowhouses in the area, built speculatively in the 1850s, and the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church which rates only one paragraph. As a visual contrast to the Monument it assumes considerable architectural importance that is not even mentioned. The house next to it, built by Albert Schumacher circa 1850 and now used by the church for offices and as the pastor's residence, is also given short shrift.

Moving to the northern square, properly designated North Washington Place, the Graham-Hughes House and the former Stafford Hotel are briefly discussed. This brings Mr. Dorsey to the story of Baltimore's first zoning law, one which limited the height of buildings on the square to no more than 70 feet above the base of the Washington Monument at street level, thus ensuring that the column would maintain its importance and not be overshadowed by any other structure.

Having walked around the area and learned something of its history we are introduced to a couple of characters who were considered "amusing" in their time, Walter de Curzon Poultney and Harry Symes Lehr. Their behavior kept gossips happy for years and while we might have trouble understanding why they were considered so interesting, they were excellent reflections of the time in which they lived. As their antics began to pall the fortunes of Mount Vernon Place began to fade, deeply affected by two events, the establishment of the income tax and World War I.

Families began to move out and commercialization crept into streets contiguous to Mount Vernon Place. There were threats to raze some of the houses and replace them with high rise apartments. Mr. Marburg protested, but the true champion of the area was Douglas H. Gordon, to whom Mr. Dorsey gives the recognition he deserves for having gone to battle on its behalf. Fifty years ago he formulated the "Gordon Curve": if a building can survive for 100 years it will be safe for 100 more. Mr. Gordon organized innumerable battles against those who wanted to take down various structures and his efforts gave birth to the Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, the city's watchdog agency that has jurisdiction over the physical

appearance of Mount Vernon Place. Application of the Gordon Curve has enabled Mount Vernon not only to survive but to regain some of its former splendor. In the words of Dr. Henry Barton Jacobs: "The squares . . . and the monument will live on through countless generations, still the pride of all Baltimoreans."

It would be interesting to know where Mr. Dorsey got some of his information. Much is familiar to anyone who has read standard books on Baltimore or the series of articles about Mount Vernon Place by Mr. Dorsey that appeared some years ago in the magazine section of the *Sunday Sun*. As there are no bibliography or footnotes, it must be assumed that he culled through old Society columns or conducted interviews with people familiar with the area for either first hand knowledge or inherited legend. There is no index—perhaps one is not necessary—but a chart at the back of the book shows who lived where and when. The illustrations throughout are well chosen and presented, with informative captions that complement the text. The work serves its purpose as an anecdotal essay. It is gossipy, draws no conclusions, and offers no moral judgments. It is easy to read and provides a commentary on how our way of life has changed since Mrs. Jacobs and her way of life were of importance to Baltimoreans.

ELIZABETH F. HARTLEY
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Dictionary of Nineteenth Century American Artists in Italy 1760-1914. By Regina Soria. (Rutherford, Madison and Teaneck; Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982, 332 pp. Illustrated. \$45.)

Under the modest title of a "Dictionary of Nineteenth Century American Artists in Italy", Regina Soria has in over five hundred biographies of artists (including men of letters and collectors) assembled an amazing quantity of material of the greatest interest. Her biographies, though alphabetically arranged, are cross-referenced so as to give an almost narrative form to her dictionary. And it is further held together by the fascinating evidence it provides of the spell Italy cast over all of its visitors.

The first American artist in Italy was Benjamin West, later the friend of George III and President of the Royal Academy who arrived in 1760. He was followed about four years afterwards by the less-known Henry Benbridge, and in 1775 by John Singleton Copley. A generation later in 1804 Washington Allston arrived. A man of letters as well as an artist, born in South Carolina and educated at Harvard, he had ex-

tensive connections and inspired many others to seek Italy.

A flood of Americans commenced in the early Nineteenth Century, and grew to great proportions after the Civil War. The dean of the artistic colony in Rome was Elihu Vedder who lived there from 1866 to 1923. More important were Whistler, Sargent and Mary Cassatt. But these had studied in Paris, and give evidence by their careers of the coming importance of France and the decline of Italy as a center of artistic training.

Among the sculptors who even more than painters required nude models, then unobtainable in prudish America, were Thomas Crawford, the first American sculptor to settle in Rome, whose son, Francis Marion Crawford, born in Italy, wrote novels giving an unsurpassed picture of the Eternal City in the nineteenth century; Hiram Powers, whose Greek Slave was approved, copied and imitated extensively despite her nudity, perhaps because of American sympathy for the Greeks in their struggle for freedom; Horatio Greenough, whose masterpiece is his noble bust of George Washington; and two admirable Marylanders, Ephraim Keyser and William Henry Rinehart.

Practically every important man of letters (except the most outstanding, Poe,) visited Italy, which influenced them all, some very greatly. Hawthorne in his notebooks said, "... now that I have known it once, Rome certainly does draw into itself my heart, as I think even London or even little Concord itself, or old sleepy Salem never did and never will.

Mark Twain, though inclined to make fun of the Old World, did say, "... this carefree life at a Florentine villa is an ideal existence. The weather is divine, the outside aspects lovely, the days and nights tranquil and reposeful, the seclusion from the world and its worries as satisfactory as a dream." Yet his bumptious rusticity caused him to be shocked by Titian's lovely Reclining Venus in the Uffizzi which he called "utterly depraved". Henry James, on the other hand, was so enthusiastically European that he even gave up his American citizenship.

Collectors influenced by Italy were Baltimore's Robert Gilmor, the first important American collector who sketched landscapes while on the Grand Tour, acquired old masters and helped contemporary artists; James Jackson Jarves who formed the first collection of Italian primitives which affected all subsequent art enthusiasts, though he died crushed by his failure to interest contemporary Americans; Mrs. John Lowell Gardner, originally of New York, who built a Venetian Palazzo in Boston, filled with flowers and works of art, and in this and more

than one other way, shocked her icy fellow-citizens.

An introduction to the biographies gives the historic background of nineteenth century Italy and the tumultuous political activities during which the Americans calmly pursued their artistic activities. Where they lived, who their friends and patrons were, where their works may be seen and their lives studied—often in unpublished material—all of this and more may be found in this work. It is truly of inestimable value.

DOUGLAS H. GORDON
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A Blessing of Years: The Memoirs of Lawrence Cardinal Shehan. (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982. Pp. x, 314. \$12.95.)

With accustomed modesty Cardinal Shehan insists in a "Prologue" that this work is "simply the record of my memories" and "in no sense is meant to be a history of [my] time" (p. 2). The historian, therefore, whatever his expectations, must meet the author on his own terms and be grateful that the latter has had the courage and the patience to put on paper what seems important to him. The great value of these memoirs may be just that: what a leading American Catholic churchman chooses from his life as meaningful.

In plain, polite words the cardinal tells the story of an ordinary life increasingly engulfed by extraordinary events. Whether consciously intended, the work is an *apologia* addressed more to his former flock than to historians, to those who can best appreciate his evocations of the past and to those most affected by his actions before his retirement in 1974. It is a loving tribute to his native city, Baltimore. It is an expression of heart-felt gratitude to family, friends, and associates. It is a catalogue of events that touched the lives of many Marylanders. Catholics of the archdiocese of Baltimore will rise from its reading with a sense of pride in the achievements of their second cardinal.

Early on the author recalls his meeting as a child of eight with the first cardinal, James Gibbons. "For us [children]," he declares, "he stood for all that was noble and good" (p. 10). There can be little doubt that the illustrious Gibbons, whose forty-four-year reign in Baltimore constituted a golden age of sorts, served as a model for the second cardinal. But the latter was called upon to preside over the destinies of the archdiocese in a more turbulent era. He

negotiated an extremely difficult passage from one age to another in a span of but twelve and a half years.

In some respects Cardinal Shehan typified the strengths and weakness of the bishops of the "ghetto" church that he helped to dismantle. As fund raiser and institution builder he could match any of his predecessors dollar for dollar and brick for brick. He was firmly convinced of the superiority of a Catholic education. He was unquestioning in his loyalty to the Holy See. At the same time he was at the forefront of the pastoral bishops of the post-Vatican II period. He responded readily to fresh concerns and changing needs. Four of his activities were outstanding: his ecumenical outreach, his stand for racial justice, his promotion of the new liturgy, and his activation of the laity. Some of the above he describes in great detail; some he touches lightly, if at all. He lingers with pride on the success of the \$12,000,000 "Cardinal's Campaign" and the institutions it made possible: new homes for the aged and the delinquent, a school for the retarded, and four high schools. More space is given, in fact, to this campaign, the high schools, and the fourteen parishes he established than to the four activities above mentioned, though much of his role at the Second Vatican Council was determined by his ecumenical concern.

The cardinal derives obvious satisfaction in reliving the Council years, to which he devoted two of the twelve chapters. And rightly so, for it was this concursion that transformed first the American Catholic hierarchy and then the laity. His "interventions" (speeches) there give evidence of his rapidly evolving awareness of the altered vision of church and society the Council produced. His involvement in the formulation of the decrees on religious freedom and on the Jews, the two American contributions, was significant. Unfortunately he rarely goes behind the official documents and published accounts to provide a more intimate picture of the inner workings of the Council. The same may be said

of other important episodes of his episcopal career, a matter of regret for historians.

One of the events for which he does offer fresh information, his dealings with the dissident priests at the time of the publication of the papal encyclical *Humanae Vitae* on birth control, was unquestionably a turning point in his career. This is best seen in the titles he has chosen for Chapters 10 and 11: "A Time of Hope and Accomplishment, 1965-1968," followed by "The Years of Crisis, 1968-1974." The "tragic year of 1968" (p. 243) was indeed a critical one, the year not only of *Humanae Vitae* but also of the Baltimore race riot and the Catonsville Nine (the latter not mentioned), the year that angry radicals challenged the leadership of hopeful liberals. Disenchantment ensued. The cardinal devotes four chapters to the first six years of his career as archbishop of Baltimore but only one to the last six and a half.

The pessimism of the latter years colors the developments the cardinal has chosen to include. The financial burdens of the early 1970s he tends to blame on himself rather than the downturn in the national economy. With a palpable disquietude he speaks of a "crisis of faith," which he substantiates numerically by the striking decline in baptisms and seminary enrollments. In his treatment of the dissenters to *Humanae Vitae* and of the two priests involved in the East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives (who were not convicted, as he claims) he portrays himself as a stern superior, a role at variance with the considerate and even compassionate approach remembered by most of those involved.

It was perhaps his sense of history, his consciousness of walking in the footsteps of John Carroll and James Gibbons, that led the twelfth archbishop and second cardinal of Baltimore to see himself at times as "a complete failure" (p. 293). One may reasonably doubt that this will be the judgment of future historians.

THOMAS W. SPALDING
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George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore: Family, Status, Arms¹

THOMAS M. COAKLEY

THE PEDIGREE AND ARMS OF GEORGE Calvert, first lord Baltimore, have baffled historians, genealogists, and specialists on heraldry from his time to our own.² The confusion involves the most elementary questions about Calvert's family and position in society: the social position and country or origin of his father's family, the identity of his mother and her possible status as an heiress to the family arms, and the entitlement of Calvert himself and his heirs to bear their particular arms. Genuine gaps in the genealogical record render the heraldic record especially valuable as a source of family history. For more than three and a half centuries the gaps in both the genealogical and heraldic record have encouraged fanciful efforts to fill them. This predilection sometimes forces us to walk a thin line between gullibility and guile. Our enterprise is to try to cut away the fancy which has grown about Calvert's genealogical and heraldic identity by common-sensical attention to what is known, what is plausible, and what may be inferred without enormous leaps of faith.

If we seek the family background, social position, and right to arms of George Calvert only from his known ancestors and their probable antecedents, we have to begin our search in the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, now officially called North Yorkshire. It is far more probable that Calvert descended from centuries of Calverts in the immediate vicinity of his birthplace than that he sprang from Calverts or Calverleys of Cockerham in Lancaster or in the South of England or from Callewaerts in Flanders. Although some unknown connection, or course, cannot be

completely dismissed, in this case the simplest approach appears to be the correct one.

The simplest procedure would be to accept Calvert for what the available information, probability, and plausibility would declare that he was—a descendant of a North Riding Yorkshire family bearing a name of vocational signification indigenous to the area of his birth. Such rank as he enjoyed before he rose to political prominence derived from this family. Like most holders of vocational or occupational names common to a particular region in which the occupation was widespread, Calverts appeared in several ranks in society. Furthermore, most families bearing the surname seemed to use the same Christian or first names generation after generation so that it is quite risky indeed to attach one family of Calverts to another on the basis of the incidence of first names without any other evidence of connection.

An ambitious genealogist once traced the family to Theosphine [?] Calvert or Kilvert in Domesday Book (1087), which puts us in mind of nothing so much as the story of the Esterhazy family that claimed to be descended from Adam's grandfather. We are on firmer ground by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when various records for Yorkshire reveal Warin le Calthirde (1269), William Calvehird (1297), John Calverde of York (1309), Johanna Calfhird (1379), and also Johannes Calvehyrd (1379). The parliamentary records show a Henricus, i.e., Henry, Calvert sitting for York City in three Parliaments that Edward II summoned to York (1318, 1319, 1322). He apparently was the first Calvert to sit in Parliament, and the only one until George Calvert came along.³

The ordinary derivation of the name Cal-

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vert takes us back to the words *calf* or *cealf* and *hierde* in the Anglican dialect of Old English. By cluster simplification the name slips into the felicitous form Calvert. The ordinary meaning of the name is "calfherd" or keeper of calves. Bullard, Oxnard, Coward, Stoddart, and Shepherd are clearly similar vocational names. More fanciful derivations include *Calbert*, a Norman locative name; *Ceolweard*, an Anglo-Saxon word for "shipguard"; and *Callewaert*, the Flemish family name to which we must give additional attention below. Farther afield is Van Cal Verte "man of the green hill or mound," who is said to have accompanied Richard I on the Third Crusade. Altogether more likely than these is the wisdom of the dictum "Calvert tended calves in England where Bullard kept the bulls." Despite the supposedly contemptuous reference to George Calvert as "the son of a grazier," by William Claiborne, the second lord Baltimore's rival in Chesapeake Bay, there was nothing socially disparaging about that in Richmondshire. In that neighborhood of the North Riding of Yorkshire the Calvert name appears with the highest frequency. It is not surprising that the next highest incidence of the name probably is in the city of York, the county town for Yorkshire and a northern capital for England at least to the middle of the seventeenth century.⁴

The existence of the will of Thomas Calvert of Cockerham (1567) in a work on Lancashire wills at Richmond, the site of the archdeaconry court for probate in that area, establishes a connection between the Lancashire Calverts and the town of Richmond in Yorkshire; but it is too late to demonstrate that the Calverts of Kiplin, the ancestors of the Calverts of the Baltimore title, came from Lancashire. Indeed, there were quite enough Calverts in Richmond and Swaledale already. Undoubtedly the Calverts spread through the north of England to Cumberland and Northumberland. One Thomas "Calvarte" was a servant to the warden of the East and Middle Marches during the Scottish expedition (1549-1550). Over the border into Scotland itself, a James Calvert appeared among students resident in St. Leonards College of St. Andrews University (1586-1592).⁵

The problem, therefore, is neither find-

ing Calverts in Yorkshire nor straining to bring them in from other places, particularly to give the family a socially-prestigious background. These attempts betray the kind of scholarship which tries to prove that Shakespeare's plays were not written by William Shakespeare but by some university-educated contemporary. The problem rather is to find George Calvert's certain antecedents, hereditary social position, and heraldic entitlement.

For these purposes our search can go back no further than George Calvert's grandfather Jenkyn or John Calvert, quite tentatively, and possibly also his grandmother Margerie. The most intrepid genealogists apparently are daunted by the prospect of pushing George Calvert's pedigree to a remoter past. Of the simple annals of Calvert's father Leonard little need be said except to allude to evidence of his gentility and to discuss the identity of his wife or wives. The Act Books of the High Commission of York between 1580 and 1593, well before his son achieved any prominence, repeatedly styled Leonard gent. or gentleman, sometimes in the form of "gen" for the Latin *generosus*. This usage indicated a "mere" gentleman, less prestigious than an esquire, a knight, or a baronet, each standing for a successively higher status of gentility. Indeed, James I only established the baronet as the gentle capstone immediately beneath the titled nobility in 1611. Only once in the High Commission Act Books, on July 19, 1583, is Leonard given the status *armiger*, meaning a gentleman of such distinction that he was entitled to display a coat of arms; but the clerks of the High Commission quickly reverted to the less distinctive "gent." after this apparently unique advancement. These frequent official acknowledgements of Leonard Calvert's gentility probably give the lie to efforts to argue that Calvert was not a gentleman's son when he matriculated at Oxford in 1594. If, however, Leonard was armigerous, no one has come forward with a recorded coat of arms for him.⁶

The identity of Leonard Calvert's wife who was also George's mother is not so simple. There is virtual unanimity that she bore the surname Crosland or Crossland. Like Calvert, Crosland is a name of high

regional incidence in the West Riding and North Riding of Yorkshire, so much so that even in the interest of giving Calvert a notable maternal background no one has traced her antecedents to any county except Yorkshire or any country except England. Crosland is a locative name of either Anglian or Scandinavian background, derived from a place "belonging to Cros[s] land" or "the land of the Cross." One student traces it back to the Middle English *croś*, from the Old Norse *kross* + *land*. Perhaps because of the large number of wayside crosses in Yorkshire in the Middle Ages, "cross" is not an uncommon element in place names, such as the wapentake, a political unit, called Osgoldcross. The family name Crosland is particularly associated with South Crosland, near Meltham, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where the incidence of the surname is particularly high. From the poll tax records for the West Riding in 1379 we find "Richardus de Cresseland, living in North Cresseland"; "Thomas de Cosseland [sic], living in Cresselandfosse"; and Willelmus de Cressland. Although the frequency of Crosland is heaviest in the West Riding, the surname is not unknown elsewhere in Yorkshire or by migration in other parts of the country.⁷

When we pass from the surname to the individual identity of Calvert's mother the problems multiply and her hereditary position becomes clouded. In a system of inheritance in which so much depended on succession by male primogeniture there commonly was little interest in the identity of female antecedents unless through default of male heirs there was a prospect that one's mother would be a sole heiress or a coheiress to valuable properties. There was also wide divergence in accuracy and integrity in collecting heraldic and genealogical information. One modern scholar refers to "those imaginative creative writers, the Tudor heralds, . . . kept busy contriving vast rolls tracing the ancestry of the nobility back to the Norman conquerors, to the Romans, to the Trojans."⁸

A strong tradition holds that George Calvert's mother was Alice or Alicia Crosland, but to date no contemporary record or manuscript has come to light to confirm this supposition. An early reference to this tra-

dition is to be found in the pedigree drawn up by Benedict Leonard Calvert, "the Younger" or "the Governor." He gave this genealogical table to his friend the antiquary Thomas Hearne on September 1, 1718. In it Leonard Calvert's wife and George's mother is called Alicia, the daughter and heiress of John Crosland of Crosland. Although this solution may have behind it the authority of family tradition, earlier and probably more authoritative information as to the descent and status as an heiress of George's mother renders it doubtful. As the late James W. Foster has said, Hearne omitted in his diary the name of Alicia's father though he accepted the authenticity of the Leonard-Alicia marriage. No Alice Calvert has emerged from a search of the register of All Saints Church, Almondbury, where the baptisms, marriages, and burials of so many Croslands were recorded. All Saints, Almondbury, was the parish church for North and South Crosland and also for Meltham. The only Alice to appear in known Crosland pedigrees at the appropriate period is an aunt of Grace, a daughter to Richard Crosland, sometimes said to be wife of Leonard Calvert. But this Alice securely stands as the "wife of Simon Sheild [sic]," in Sir William Dugdale's visitation of Yorkshire in 1665-1666. Although it is possible that Leonard took as his first wife, this Alice widowed, and then for his second, her niece Grace, there is no contemporary evidence for this solution. Thus, the notion that George Calvert's mother was Alicia or Alice must remain only a strong tradition, not proven. The idea, however, that his mother was an heiress of any consequence must be relegated to strong doubt because of the silence of heraldic visitations and property deeds to that effect.⁹

Of Grace, the wife of Leonard Calvert, there is less doubt. She undoubtedly was Leonard's wife by 1592 at the latest. But, if she were the Grace Crosland baptized in early 1573 at All Saints Church, Almondbury, it is not possible that she was the mother of George Calvert who was born in 1579 or 1580. Our certainty about the marriage of Leonard and Grace on or before October 9, 1592, derives from the recusancy of the family in general and of Grace in

particular. Between 1580 and 1583 the Court of High Commission of the Province or Archdiocese of York tried to bring Leonard, his wife unnamed, and his family into conformity with the Church of England by getting them to receive the Communion. As late as October 1, 1583, Leonard remained delinquent since he had not certified that the family had communicated. Another period of delinquency began in 1592, when on October 9 Leonard's wife was specifically named Grace for the first time in these records.¹⁰

One issue then before the court related to the education of the two sons of Leonard Calvert, George and Christopher, who, however, were never called sons of Grace as well. The court showed concern for the conformity of the whole family. Because of the general policy of the period for the conversion to Protestantism of the children of Catholic gentry, the court obliged Leonard by bond to have no Catholic servants or schoolmaster in the house, to buy within a month a Book of Common Prayer, a Bible in English, Mr. Nowell's catechism in English, and one further book of Protestant theology. He also had to provide Nowell's catechism in Latin or Greek for his children and to have no popish books or "other trumpery or reliques of popery." The children were to be sent to school at York and not to leave without license of the archbishop. Before the month was out George and Christopher were assigned to Mr. "Fowberry" at Bilton, Leonard being bonded to the bargain to the amount of £100. The commissioners also required that their new schoolmaster bring the boys before them quarterly "to see how they perfect in learning." On May 13, 1593, Robert Calvert of Durham, a clergyman of the Church of England and possibly a relative, although the relationship has not been proved, took bond that the boys should learn with him or with Nicholas Anderson, schoolmaster at the house of a Robert Kay, gent. The commissioners required the change because Mr. Fowberry or "Fobrey" was going to teach at Hull. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory. Consequently, on September 13, 1593, Nicholas Anderson was inhibited from any further teaching at the house of Robert Kay of Linton because he had

never taught his scholars the catechism or any of the established principles of religion. Anderson had been relicensed to teach, although he had confessed to having taught the "popish primer," and promised to make amends. Oddly enough, the commissioners said he might teach again at another gentleman's house.¹¹ These arrangements became immaterial for George because in less than a year he would go up to Oxford, where the university had its own method for promoting conformity. We cannot tell how they affected Christopher, who henceforth disappeared from the record without a trace. These attempts to assure the sons' conformity yield no further information about the family.

Another issue before the High Commission in 1592 and 1593 was the conformity of Grace Calvert. On December 4, 1593, Leonard Calvert himself certified that he had received the Communion according to the use of the Church of England; but Grace remained delinquent. She was in the custody of a pursuivant, an official whose harassment was the nemesis of many a Catholic. She then was put under bond to communicate or, failing that, to appear again before the High Commission; but she never certainly came into full conformity. It would appear that the Calverts arrived at a compromise common among late Elizabethans and early Jacobean Catholics of Catholic sympathy, namely, a grudging conformity by the father and head of the household, which secured real property held in his name and enabled him for public office, such as the treasurership of the Lame Soldiers Fund, which Leonard held. Then the wife and children would not conform. This expedient meant that the lay leadership of English Catholicism until about 1620 was predominantly female. This compromise, as John Bossy notes in his study of the English Catholic community and as the Calverts illustrate, ordinarily could survive only one generation. Thereafter a family either opted for full, active Catholicism or accepted the Established Church.¹² The High Commission records again yield no further information on the Calvert family.

There is no contemporary evidence to establish the reasonable assumption that Grace, the wife of Leonard Calvert, was the

same person as Grace Crosland, the daughter of Thomas Crosland of Crosland Hill, near Almondbury in the West Riding of Yorkshire and either his first wife Marina or Maria[o]na Hawksworth or his second wife Joanna, whose antecedents are unknown. Within some thirty years of George Calvert's death, however, at the visitation of 1665–1666, heralds made this connection, although if we grant the cavalier attitude of the gentry towards their nonheirless female antecedents, it is not unexpected that the mother of Grace Calvert remains in doubt. The "Grace riddle" is as follows: A Grace Crosland was baptized at All Saints Church, Almondbury, on February 8, 1573, too late to have been the mother of George Calvert, born as we have seen in 1579 or 1580, even if she became, as seems possible, the wife of Leonard Calvert on or before October 9, 1592. At that date the Grace baptized in 1573 would have been a marriageable nineteen years of age. This Grace Crosland is shown in nineteenth-century editions of two heraldic visitations, Sir Richard St. George's (1612) and Sir William Dugdale's (1665–1666), as the wife of Leonard Calvert. One pedigree, that of Crosland of Newby, taken by Dugdale at Kilham, August 31, 1665, shows Grace with the siblings born to the second wife of Thomas Crosland of Crosland Hill but derives them from the first marriage. This would be an impossibility if the parish register at Almondbury may be believed because the first wife of Thomas was buried in 1565, more than seven years before Grace Crosland was baptized, presumably as an infant. A subsequent editor of Dugdale's visitation, confronted with these data, tried to conflate the Crosland of Newby family tree with the Crosland of Crosland Hill pedigree, taken at York on September 13, 1665. He added information from other sources such as the parish registers and removed misinformation or shifted information about. Grace Crosland then became the second daughter of Thomas Crosland of Crosland Hill and the first daughter of his second wife Joanna. Her half brother Thomas, son of Thomas, was his father's heir and continued the male line of the elder branch of the family at least into the early eighteenth century.

Grace's full brother, John Crosland of Helmsley, baptized at Almondbury on October 31, 1568, founder of the Newby branch of the family, likewise established a male line which persisted at least until 1695. Thus, this Grace Crosland was no heiress either in common law or in heraldry. With two elder brothers continuing their respective branches of the family, Grace Crosland could perhaps have received property from her father's will but could not claim rights to the arms of her father or transmit them to her descendants, according to the fully developed English rules, as long as her brothers left male descendants. If those lines were broken, the arms of the Croslands of Crosland Hill and those of the Croslands of Newby would not go to the descendants of Grace Crosland but to the heiress or heiresses of the last males of those branches of the family.¹³

The next clue to the hereditary rank and identity of George Calvert is the coat armor borne by him and his family after him. For Calvert's own arms, the starting point appears to be the exemplification granted him on December 3, 1622, by Sir Richard St. George, Norroy King of Arms and the member of the College of Arms responsible for heraldic arms in England north of the River Trent. But, in point of fact, George Calvert already had used the arms exemplified to him for some years before that recognition. The first occasion on which we know that Calvert used a seal was in 1606, although the design of that seal is still unknown. By June 21, 1619, if not earlier, he had begun to use a *Paly of six*, a heraldic shield, composed of paling-like, vertical stripes. He had anticipated the form and possibly the tinctures rehearsed in the exemplification, although the tinctures naturally could not be displayed on a seal. The relatively simple seal, which we shall call Type I, had by February 4, 1620, given place to a more elaborate seal, which we shall name Type II, a *Paly of six* with helmet and mantling and with a rope border. On March 9, 1623, some three months after the exemplification, Calvert began to use a seal, which we may consider Type III, including the *Paly of six* with helmet and mantling and with the addition of pennons, the rope border being replaced by a dotted border.



Type I



Type II



Type III



Type IV

FIGURE 1. George Calvert's Seals
(Schematic, not to scale)

He continued to use this third seal with variations in size or detail and with or without the border during the rest of his official career. On his last known letter of March 28, 1632, he used a seal (Type IV) showing the pennons standing in a ducal crown or coronet surrounded by the motto *Fatti maschii parole femine* (See Figure 1).¹⁴

Though Calvert had adopted the *Paly of six* for the relatively private use as a letter seal on the basis of paternal right to arms, according to the exemplification, he had some further reason for a formal recognition of his arms. Perhaps his plan to display the elaborate heraldic decoration that he intended for this first wife's tomb provided one of the reasons for the exemplifications which he got less than four months after her death. The exemplification gave the unique contemporary manifestation and quite probably the only original for all later versions of the Flemish antecedents of George Calvert. In the exemplification Sir Richard St. George, Norroy King of Arms, first recommended the social value of coat armor to promote service to the prince and country and then deemed Calvert worthy of such arms because his ancestors residing in the North of England were "in the Rank

and reputation of gentlemen and . . . bearers of such badges and Ensigns of honor amongst us." Furthermore, St. George declared that he had seen "an exact collection made by Mr. Richard Verstegen an antiquary in Antwerp sent over this last of March 1622," a date which, however, put the beginning of the investigations before the death of Lady Calvert. By this genealogical report the Norroy King of Arms acknowledged that Calvert appeared to be descended from a noble and ancient family of that name in the County ("Earldom") of Flanders where the principal seat lay at "Warwickoe," usually normalized as Warwicko. Not only did this family have ancient lineage and great possessions, but also two brothers who had taken opposite sides in the then recent civil war in the Netherlands. One, Jacques Calvert, remained loyal to the King of Spain and his son held in 1622 an "honourable place and office in the Parliament Court at Macklyn," that is, Malines. The other, Levinus Calvert, joined with the States of Holland, serving as their agent to Henry IV of France, who made Levinus's son a gentleman of his bedchamber. Verstegen testified that the arms of this family were "or [gold], three martlets Sables [black] with this Crest vizt the upper part or halves of two Lances the bandroll of the first Sables and the second, or."¹⁵

The evidence of the exemplification sounds impressive, but of course it is only as strong as St. George's judgment and Verstegen's accuracy and relevance. There is little to be said about St. George's judgment except the usual strictures on Tudor and early Stuart heralds. Convention required that they provide arms to the economically, socially, and politically conspicuous; and the canons of scholarship in such matters were not demanding. Concerning the antiquary Richard Verstegen (fl. 1565–1620), sometimes known in England as Richard Rowlands, it should be said he had an adventurous life. He was reputedly born in London in the parish of St. Katherine's near the Tower of an ancient Dutch family of Gelderland. As a zealous Catholic he declined the religious tests necessary to take a university degree, moved to Antwerp, dropped his English name, and resumed his paternal one. An artist and agent for the transmission of Catholic literature, he was

living in Paris about 1587 where he was imprisoned for an attack on Elizabeth's treatment of Catholics. Released, he returned to Antwerp, though he was said to be back in France in 1595 on his way to Spain; but he made his way back to Antwerp. He corresponded with the English antiquary Sir Robert Cotton up to 1617, and was said to be alive in 1620. Then his fortunes grew blurred with some declaring him dead in about 1634 or soon thereafter. Others said later antiquarian works attributed to Richard Verstegen were by a different person who dated his will in 1640 and may have been the son of the first Richard. No pedigree connected the Callewaerts of Flanders with the Calverts of Kiplin. By such a slender thread hangs the tradition that George Calvert had antecedents named Callewaert from Flanders near Antwerp and Ghent and, therefore, might claim the tinctures and devices in their crest.¹⁶

The Norroy King of Arms was dependent upon the achievement of the Callewaert family only for the tinctures and the devices of the crest. The argument was that Calvert desired "to add some part of those honourable badges and ensigns of honour which descend upon him from his ancestors their [sic] to those which he and his predecessors have formerly borne here since their coming into England." St. George, therefore, added to

the Coat of Arms which they [the Calverts] have borne here in England being paly of Six pieces, or and Sables a bend counter-changed this Crest ensuing Vizt: the upper part of the two half Lances or, with bannet there to appending the one or the other Sables standing in a Ducal Crown gules [red] as more plainly appeareth depicted in the margin and is the ancient Crest descended unto him from his ancestors.

Thus, the exemplification of 1622 both confirmed Calvert's previous use of the *Paly of six*, with the tinctures or and sable and added the crest to accompany the coat. If, indeed, the *Paly of six or and sable, a bend counterchanged* were his paternal coat, any use of it without some mark of difference during his father's lifetime, and his father was alive in 1622, would have been formally irregular. The coat of arms and the crest would pass to his male heirs by primogeni-

ture and, by default of them, to the heiress or heiresses of the last of them, and to the heiresses' heirs giving them the status of armigerous gentry. The motto *Fatti maschi[i] parole femine* appeared in the marginal emblazonment on the exemplification, but it was not part of the text itself. This armigerous status was independent of the honor of knighthood which Calvert already had received in 1617 and of the later Irish peerage which he would acquire in 1625.¹⁷

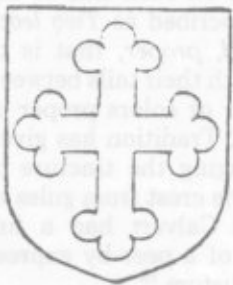
The Norroy King of Arms had not awarded Calvert a full achievement of arms by the text of the exemplification although it was understood that he might assume the helmet appropriate to his rank and the motto in the marginal emblazonment. Calvert used, as we have seen, on a seal impressed on his last surviving letter, March 28, 1632, the Italian motto *Fatti maschii parole femine*, with the family using slight spelling variations. The most felicitous translation is "manly deeds, womanly words," though commentators have attempted several erroneous and mildly irreverent renderings. It is arguable that the motto had special applicability to Calvert's shift from the secretarial to the active career with a meaning like Theodore Roosevelt's celebrated motto which put the soft words and the strong weapons together. There is only one manuscript source for the grant of supporters by the Garter King of Arms, Sir William Segar, in 1624. Presumably the grant of supporters coincided with Calvert's creation as lord Baltimore in 1624 [Old Style] or 1625 [New Style]. By the fully-developed rules for England and Ireland a peerage carried with it an entitlement to supporters. These supporters, one on each side of the coat of arms, were described as *Two leopards guardant, coward, proper*, that is to say, facing forward, with their tails between their legs, in the color or colors proper or natural to the animal. Tradition has given Segar credit for changing the tincture of the ducal coronet in the crest from gules to or. Thus, after 1625 Calvert had a full achievement of arms of a peer by express grant or by heraldic custom.¹⁸

The greatest mystery in the use of arms by the Calverts, or course, is the quartering of their coat with the Crosland arms from the time of George's son and heir Cecil,

second lord Baltimore. No one has found to date any clear proof that this quartering followed the rules of English heraldry. As has been argued above, if Calvert's mother indeed were Alice or Alicia, evidence has never made her an heiress of armigerous Croslands. If she were the Grace who was connected with the armigerous Croslands, which seems highly improbable, as has been shown, she had an elder half brother who left male issue for several generations and a full brother who similarly left issue. The senior male line of Grace's father bore for their arms *Quarterly argent [silver] and gules, a cross bottonnée counterchanged*, which Sir William Dugdale, then Norroy King of Arms, acknowledged as belonging to the Croslands of Crosland Hill at his visitation of 1665–1666. These are the arms sometimes quartered with the Calverts'. It is unknown how long and on what authority these Crosland arms were borne before Dugdale's visitation. The junior male line of Grace's father, the descendants of Grace Crosland's full brother, also received confirmation of their arms at Dugdale's visitation of 1665–1666. This younger branch of the Crosland family, the Croslands of Newry, bore arms *Quarterly argent and gules, a cross botonée counterchanged, a crescent for difference*. This confirmation would suggest a relatively strict application of the rules of heraldry with the heirs of the third, or second surviving, son bearing the arms with a difference to show cadency, the crescent, the particular mark of cadency ordinarily reserved for the second son in English heraldry. There is always the possibility that Dugdale or some editor has tidied up the evidence after the fact;

but, if these citations from the Yorkshire visitation of 1665–1666 are correct, they would eliminate any valid quartering of the cross bottonnée arms of the Croslands by Cecil Calvert, lord Baltimore, and his heirs.¹⁹

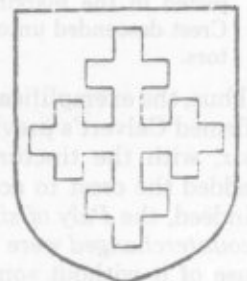
Are there any other explanations for the Calverts' quartering the arms of the Croslands of Crosland Hill with their own? Perhaps four hypothetical possibilities occur, for which, however, little, if any, evidence exists for the first three. First, George Calvert's mother was entitled to the arms of the Croslands, but, being still alive, her son George could not quarter them and only his son Cecil did so after his grandmother's death. Although such a resolution would be perfectly logical, it would do violence to known facts and reasonable inferences from the surviving evidence. If both George's father and mother had arms, Leonard might have impaled his wife's arms, i.e., shown side by side, or carried them upon his own arms on an escutcheon of pretence. But to date we can find neither an armigerous Crosland mother for George Calvert nor a certain armigerous Calvert father. Secondly, the proper arms of the senior line of the Croslands may have been the cross fleury or flory, thus leaving the cross bottonnée or botony available for a junior female line. This argument, however, does not square with such factual information as there is, particular from the Dugdale visitation of 1665–1666. Thirdly, the cross crosslets may have the greater antiquity and the bottonnée or "buttoned" cross of the Calvert-Crosland quartering may be a corruption in execution. The difficulty with this inference is that no cross crosslets



Cross botony



Cross Flory



Cross crosslet

FIGURE 2. Adapted from Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (1909, 1978), pp. 129, 130.

appear on the Crosland arms found in the course of this research (See Figure 2). Fourthly, and here according to my own hypothesis, the heirs male of George Calvert of the Baltimore title fairly consistently used the *Paly of six* as their personal arms, thereby following the strict rules of English heraldry. They only quartered their arms with those of the Croslands of Crosland Hill in their capacity as lords proprietors of their provinces.²⁰

Although no visitation rolls or exemplifications support my hypothesis, there is much armorial practice by the Lords Baltimore from 1635 to 1771 that bears on this solution to the mystery of the Calvert-Crosland quarterings. First, there is the continued use of George Calvert's unquartered *Paly of six* arms by his heirs to the Baltimore title for personal use and for some official or proprietary use. Cecil Calvert, second lord Baltimore, used the unquartered Calvert arms with the leopard supporters, the ducal coronet, and the pennons in a seal on a document dated August 16, 1639. He also had shilling, six pence, and groat coins struck in England in 1659 which again appear to have used the unquartered *Paly of six* arms or the crest. Similarly, an unquartered example appeared on a letter of 1664 from Charles Calvert, the future third lord Baltimore. This seal looks very much as if it could have belonged to his grandfather George. Again, the portrait of the second lord by Gerard Soest of about 1670 showed Cecil Calvert holding a map of Maryland on which only the *Paly of six* arms appeared. Charles Calvert, fifth lord Baltimore employed a seal with the unquartered Calvert arms on a real property document of June 27, 1730. In a work of 1759 on the Irish peerage the compiler displayed the arms of Frederick Calvert, sixth lord Baltimore, without the Crosland quarterings. They likewise appeared on a seal of the sixth lord attached to an indenture of July 4, 1760, between him and Thomas and Richard Penn concerning the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary. Several years later, on May 4, 1767, at a register of pedigrees for Ireland, Frederick returned the unquartered Calvert arms impaled with his wife's family arms, curiously indeed, since she was not an heiress.²¹

On the other hand, the earliest known use of the Calvert and Crosland arms quartered together appeared on the map in the second lord's colonization tract *A Relation of Maryland* (1635). Aside from this use the best evidence for the quartered Calvert and Crosland arms comes from various official seals for the province of Maryland. For example, the provincial seals of 1648-1692, with an interruption from 1652 to 1658, and again of 1715 to 1794 and the state seal adopted in 1876 bore the quartered arms. The commission for the great seal of 1648, said that the new seal differed little from the first seal of Maryland, stolen in the rebellion of Richard Ingle in February 1645 and later lost or destroyed. Cecil Calvert, second lord Baltimore, described the armorial bearings on the seal of 1648 as follows:

on the one side thereof is engraven our Figure in Complete Armour on Horse Back with our Sword drawn and our Helmet on and a Great Plume of Feathers affixed to it the Horsetrapping's furniture and Comparisons being adorn'd with the figure of our Paternal Coat of Arms and underneath the Horse a Sea Shore engraven with Certain Flowers and Grass Growing upon it and this Inscription about that Side of the Seal (vizt) Cecilius Absolutus D[o]m[in]us Terrae Mariae Et Avaloniae Baro de Baltimore and on the other or Counterside of the said Seal is engraven a[n] Es]cutcheon wherein our Paternal Coat of Arms to wit six pieces impaled with a Bend dexter Counterchanged quartered with another Coat of Arms belonging to our Family vizt a Cross Buttoned at each end (and also counterchanged) are engraven the whole [Es]cutcheon being Supported with a Fisherman on the one Side and a Plowman on the other standing upon a Scrowl wherein is engraven the motto of our Paternal Court [sic: for "Coat"] of Arms vizt Fatti Maschii Parole Femine next above the [Es]cutcheon is engraved a Count Palatine's Cap and over that a Helmet with the Crest of our Paternal Court [sic] of Arms on the Top of it which Crest is a Ducal Crown with two half Bannerets set upright in it Behind the said [Es]cutcheon and Supporters is engraven a large mantle and this inscription is about that side of the Seal vizt Scuto bonae Voluntatis tuae Coronasti nos the figure of the Seal is round and is of the

same Bigness that our said former Great Seal was . . .

This description resolves most of the remaining questions about the Calvert arms. Although the second lord used a different form of words than the exemplification of 1622 to describe the *Paly of six*, it came to the same thing without the tinctures, which one obviously could not represent on a seal. He precisely described it as the paternal coat of arms. He carefully described the cross buttoned or botonnée as only "belonging to our Family" without any claim of a grandmaternal right as an heiress. If the second lord had any entitlement to quarter the arms as of right, he quite probably would have said so in this commission with its exhaustive attention to armorial detail. In the provincial seal there appeared the count palatine's cap, a coronet of rank which Cecil presumably claimed because a count palatine, to whom a lord proprietor was most nearly analogous, might pretend to an earl's coronet. It was as if the second lord Baltimore claimed as lord proprietor of Maryland and Avalon in Newfoundland the equivalent of an earldom though he only had the rank in the Irish peerage of a baron. The motto on the reverse, *Scuto bonae voluntatis tuae coronasti nos* (Thou hast crowned us with a shield of thy good will. Ps. 5: 12 or 13), and the fisherman and plowman supporters were new and like the count palatine's cap found confirmation in no visitation records or exemplifications. Such usage for an institutional bearer, such as a city or province, would be unexceptional at the time, though mildly irregular in strict heraldry; for no less a bearer of arms than the City of London had assumed its dragon supporters in the seventeenth century without any officially recorded grant.²²

Despite the caution which the fragmentary character of the evidence requires there are several conclusions that we can draw with a fair degree of certainty. First, George Calvert descended in the paternal line from a North Riding Yorkshire family which was quite probably settled in the county for centuries and which had attained gentle status at least by his father's generation. Secondly, his mother, again

quite probably, was a Crosland of a family connected with the West Riding Croslands though her exact identity may also be known if further information is found. She may have borne the name of Alicia or Alice, according to a strong tradition; but instead she may have carried the name Grace, although, if that were the case, she could not have been the Grace Crosland of the Crosland Hill family. Thirdly, although George Calvert bore arms which may have belonged to his father's family, they received no confirmation either at a visitation or by an exemplification before George's generation. Fourthly, Calvert almost certainly had no connection with the Callewaert family of Flanders. Nevertheless, data about that family supplied by the antiquary Verstegen and rehearsed in the exemplification by the Norroy King of Arms provided a heraldic justification for confirming certain tinctures in Calvert's arms and introducing certain devices and tinctures in his crest. And finally, the Calverts almost certainly had no heraldic right to quarter the Crosland arms with their paternal coat. They acknowledged as much by using the unquartered Calvert coat as their personal arms with a high degree of consistency and reserving the use of the quartered Calvert-Crosland arms to official or provincial functions. This circumspection confirms our reluctance to acknowledge George Calvert's mother as an heiress in law or heraldry. The Calverts' use of heraldry reflected a formal respect for the fully developed English and Irish rules, but it was tempered by informal breaches of those rules according to prevailing custom. Unless some undiscovered evidence comes to light it is most improbable that we can add substantially to our knowledge of the family background, hereditary social status, and entitlement to arms of George Calvert, first lord Baltimore.

REFERENCES

1. This article represents a small part of the research directed toward a full-length biography of George Calvert, first lord Baltimore. The author wishes to thank many colleagues and friends from Miami University and from the Maryland Historical Society (hereafter cited as MHS) for their kind assistance in this project and hopes to discharge a small part of this indebtedness for the present

article by specific thanks at the appropriate places in the text and notes. Two general acknowledgments are, however, in order. As every researcher using the MHS for the study of George Calvert, I am indebted to the research papers and writings of the late James W. Foster. I am particularly indebted to the late Harold R. Manakee for his personal interest and encouragement of the project.

The author has modernized the spelling in direct quotations as lightly as possible for the sake of clarity but has retained the capitalization and punctuations to preserve the character of the original.

2. The genealogy and heraldry of the Calverts have prompted an extensive secondary literature, but one that does not admit of analysis into interpretive schools or arrangement along a straight-line chronological progression. The author will cite important secondary accounts where they are pertinent to the discussion.
3. Theosphine [?] Calvert or Kilvert must stand thus far only on the undocumented authority of MHS, Filing Case A, s.v. "Calvert Family of Ohio" and "of England and Turkey" and MHS, xerox of MS property of Frederick James Calvert, London, England. I wish to thank Mrs. Mary K. Meyer, former genealogist and genealogical editor at the MHS, for the Esterhazy story. P. H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames* (London, 1958), p. 58. Charles Wareing Bardsley, *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames with Special American Instances* (London, 1901; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1967), p. 157. Great Britain, House of Commons, *Members of Parliament*, pt. 1: 56, 59, 66, 442, 454, 459.
4. Reaney, *Dictionary*, pp. 31, 58, 176. Bardsley, *Dictionary*, p. 157. Henry Harrison, *Surnames of the United Kingdom* (London, 1912, 1918; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1969), 1: 66. William Dodgson Bowman, *The Story of Surnames* (London, 1932; reprint ed., Detroit, 1968), p. 226. C. L'Estrange Ewen, *A History of Surnames of the British Isles* (Baltimore, 1968), p. 263. Sabine Baring-Gould, *Family Names and Their Story* (London, 1910; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1968), p. 119. Henry Barber, *British Family Names: Their Origins and Meaning*, 2d ed. (London, 1903; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1968), p. 109. Graham Hill, *Leaves from the Calvert Papers* (London, 1894), passim, esp. p. 2, which should be used with great care. Elsdon C. Smith, *American Surnames* (Philadelphia, 1969), pp. 110, 323. F. K. and S. Hitching, *References to English Surnames in 1601 and 1602*. 2 vols. in 1 (Walton on Thames, 1910; London, 1911; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1968), 1: xxvii; 2: xxxiii. Henry Brougham Guppy, *Homes of the Family Names in Great Britain* (London, 1890; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1968), pp. 412, 465. C. M. Matthews, *English Surnames* (New York, 1967), p. 96. My thanks are due to Professor Andrew Kerek of Miami University for the discussion of the shift in spelling from Caltherd to Calvert. For Claiborne's remark about Calvert being "the son of a grazier" see MHS, Filing Case A, s.v. "Calvert Family (Acc. no. 57143)," fortified by a well-polished anecdote of the late William B. Marye. Modern postal and telephone directories confirm the geographical distribution of the Calvert name.
5. Bardsley, *Dictionary*, p. 157. Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission 24: *Rutland*, 4: 356 (hereafter cited as HMC). HMC 72: *Laing*, 1: 58. HMC 55: *Various Collections, Wombell*, 2: 110. Mark Antony Lower, *English Surnames: An Essay on Family Nomenclature*, 3d enl. ed., 2 vols. (London, 1849), 2: 60.
6. James W. Foster, "George Calvert: His Yorkshire Boyhood," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 55 (December 1960): 263 and nn. 6, 7; 271; 272-74 (Hugh Aveling's abstracts) (hereafter *Maryland Historical Magazine* cited as *MHM*). MHS, Filing Case A, s.v. "Calvert Family (Acc. no. 57143)." Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Court of High Commission of the Province of York, Act Books, vol. 12, ff. 83, 84, 110v, 112v, 130 (hereafter cited as Borthwick, High Commission, Act Books). The volumes of the Act Books are now numbered according to a different system from that used when Aveling made the abstracts. For the tangled question of why Calvert appeared as the "son of a plebeian" at his matriculation at Oxford in 1594 but as the "son of a gentleman" at the award of his B.A. degree in 1597 see *Register of the University of Oxford*, ed. Andrew Clark vol. 2, 1571-1622 (Oxford, 1887-1889), pt. 1: xxv; pt. 2: 203; pt. 3: 202, and J. K. McConica, "The Social Relations of Tudor Oxford," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 27 (1977): 122-27. Both Clark and McConica on somewhat different grounds discount the evidence of the Oxford registers as precise indication of the social rank of the students' fathers.
7. Harrison, *Surnames*, 1: 66. Barber, *British Family Names*, p. 109. Hitching, *References to English Surnames*, 1: xxvii; 2: xxxviii. Bardsley, *Dictionary*, p. 219. Guppy, *Homes of Family Names*, p. 474.
8. Robert Glover, *The Visitation of Yorkshire, Made in the Year 1584/5*, ed. Joseph Foster (London, 1875), pp. vi, vii. Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965), p. 23.
9. *MHM* 2 (December 1907): 369, printed the pedigree that Benedict Leonard Calvert gave to Thomas Hearne on September 1, 1718. Both the original and Hearne's elaboration with coats of arms through five generations survive, according to Foster, "His Yorkshire Boyhood," p. 264 n. 10, citing Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson 67, f. 12, and MS Hearne's Diaries 82, f. 129a. As James W. Foster shows in the same place, at p. 264 n. 10, William Paver used Hearne's evidence but evaded a conclusive answer to the problem of Calvert's mother by using Alice in the Calvert genealogy and Grace in the Crosland (citing British Library, Additional MS 29, ff. 647, 784, 128v, hereafter cited as BL, Add MS) [The citation probably should read BL, Add MS 29, 647.]. James W. Foster also notes that Antony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 2d ed. (London, 1721), "probably depending on Hearne," called George's mother Alice; but, in fact, Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1st ed. (London, 1691; English Books,

- 1641-1700, microfilm), 1: col. 483, reel 117, no. 5, already gave George's mother as Alice, daughter of John Crosland of Crosland twenty-seven years before B. L. Calvert's pedigree of 1718. Wood and B. L. Calvert still may be two independent authorities or they may both be based on a third and older unique authority. As James W. Foster indicates, "the so-called Visitation of 1612" by Sir Richard St. George, printed in Glover, *Visitation of Yorkshire*, p. 500, s.v. "Calvert by Danby Wiske," showed the Leonard Calvert-Alice Crosland union, but p. 509, s.v. "Crosland," showed Grace Crosland as the wife of Leonard Calvert. Sir Anthony Wagner, Garter King of Arms, informs Mr. Foster that this version drew upon BL, Harleian MS 1487, ff. 284b and 424 (hereafter cited as BL, Harl MS), which was not the work of a qualified genealogist. John Lodge, *The Peerage of Ireland* (London, 1754), and "Memoirs of the Baltimore Family," *London Magazine* 37 (June 1768): 283, repeated the Alice or Alicia solution. Foster, "His Yorkshire Boyhood," p. 265 n. 13, notes the lack of a baptismal entry for Alice at All Saints' Church, Almondbury. William Dugdale, *Visitation of County of Yorke*, Surtees Society, vol. 36 (Durham, 1859), p. 113, and J. W. Clay, ed., "Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire, with Additions," *Genealogist*, n.s. 12: 200, give Alice Crosland as daughter of Richard [not John] Crosland, sister of the elder Thomas Crosland of Crosland Hill, wife of Simon Shield [sic], and aunt of Grace.
10. Grace is far better authenticated than Alice or Alicia as the wife of Leonard Calvert. Borthwick, High Commission, Act Books, vol. 12, ff. 83, 110v, 112v, 113v, 130. Hugh Aveling's abstracts, a supplement to Foster, "His Yorkshire Boyhood," pp. 273-74, confirm these references although Aveling puts the final reference at f. 129v. I find to date, however, no reference to Grace in North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton, Calendar of the Cust Documents, ZBM (hereafter cited as N Yorks RO); in N Yorks RO, Kiplin Hall Archives, ZBL; or in MHS, Calvert Papers, MS 174 (hereafter cited as MHS, MS 174).
 11. Borthwick, High Commission, Act Books, vol. 12, ff. 83, 84, 112v, 126v. To date no one has successfully identified this Christopher, the son of Leonard, with any other Christopher Calvert.
 12. For Grace Calvert's nonconformity and nonreception of the Holy Communion see the same entries in the Act Books as cited in note 10 above; for Leonard Calvert's eventual certificate of communication see Borthwick, High Commission, Act Books, vol. 12, f. 89v. Foster, "His Yorkshire Boyhood," pp. 269-70, cites Leonard Calvert's treasurership of the Lame Soldiers Fund by appointment of the Justices of the Peace at the quarter sessions in Richmond on July 12, 1602. Foster argues that office proves conformity, though Roger B. Manning, *Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex: A Study of the Enforcement of the Religious Settlement, 1558-1603* (Leicester, 1969), pp. 81-82, 238-53, shows that there were some Catholic officeholders including Justices of the Peace during the reign of Elizabeth I despite the tenor of the law to the contrary. John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London, 1975), pp. 153-60, 162-68, however, demonstrates the various strategies that the law imposed on English Catholics trying to hold real property and office.
 13. Glover, *Visitation of Yorkshire*, p. 509, gives Grace as daughter of Thomas Crosland of Crosland, sister of John Crosland of Crosland, husband of Leonard Calvert of Kiplin, and mother of George Calvert, but *ibid.*, p. 500, gives Alice as indicated in note 9 above. By the 1859 edition of Dugdale, *Visitation of County of Yorke*, p. 133, where Grace is daughter of the elder Thomas Crosland of Crosland Hill by his first wife who is unnamed except for the maiden name Hawksworth, sister of John Crosland of Hemsley or Helmsley, wife to Leonard Calvert, but *not* said to be the mother of George Calvert. At *ibid.*, p. 188, Grace is not mentioned in the Crosland of Crosland Hill pedigree at all. Clay, ed., "Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire," *Genealogist*, n.s. 12: 200, gives Grace as the second daughter of the elder Thomas Crosland of Crosland Hill by his second wife Joanna, whose maiden name is not given. She was baptized at All Saints Church, Almondbury, on February 8, 1573; and she married, as Dugdale himself had said, Leonard Calvert of Kiplin. Clay's reconstruction of the visitation records with additions probably comes as close as we are likely to get to the identity of Grace, wife of Leonard Calvert. This evidence strengthens the notion that Leonard Calvert married twice, first to a woman traditionally known as Alice or Alicia Crosland who was the mother of George Calvert, and secondly to Grace Crosland no later than 1592. Since the Croslands of Newby, sometimes called "of Helmsley or Hemsley," had male heirs through 1695 and the Croslands of Crosland Hill also continued in the male line well into the eighteenth century, it would have been impossible, as we have seen, for Grace Crosland, or any female Crosland for that matter, to be an heiress in law or in heraldry to the Crosland of Crosland Hill arms. Foster, "His Yorkshire Boyhood," p. 265 and n. 13, confirms the fact that Grace Crosland's baptism is recorded at Almondbury on February 3, 1573. The Grace Crosland connection attached the Calverts of Kiplin to several other Yorkshire families—Hawksworth, Kay or Key of Thorpe, Talbot of Thornton—of which several were associated with Maryland.
 14. Calvert to Winwood, April 18, 1606, HMC 45: *Buckleuch* (Montagu House), 1: 63, is the earliest known reference to a George Calvert seal. James W. Foster finds George Calvert's first type of seal on Calvert to Salisbury, St. Martin's Lane, July 25, 1620, Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury, Hatfield House, Cecil Manuscripts 130, f. 7, calendared at HMC 9: *Salisbury*, 22: 121. I begin my own numbering of the simple *Paly of six* seal (Type I) with Great Britain, Public Record Office, State Papers, Domestic, James I 14/109/104 (June 21, 1619) (hereafter cited as SP); of the more elaborate seal with the rope border (Type II) with SP 14/112/61 (February 4, 1620); of the fully developed seal with coat, helmet, ducal crown, and pennons (Type III) in several variants and sizes.

- Perhaps the earliest impress from one of Calvert's Type III seals was the faint one on the indenture dated December 7, 1622, in MHS, MS 174: 34, a reference in the older system of citation for the Calvert Papers. Calvert to Middlesex, March 28, 1632, MHS, MSS Room, Vertical File, Calvert's last extant letter, has a seal (Type IV) of his motto, ducal crown, and pennons.
15. MHS, *The Calvert Papers*, Fund Publications, nos. 28, 34, 35, 3 vols, in 2 (Baltimore, 1889, 1894, 1899), 1: 38-40, prints the exemplification with the orthographic accidents of the original, MHS, MS 174: 31-1/2, using again the older form of reference to these papers. This emblazoned exemplification is framed and exhibited in the MHS Museum. R. Winder Johnson, *The Ancestry of Rosalie Morris Johnson* ([Philadelphia], 1905), 2: 69, says that the Calvert or Calvart family were resident in Antwerp, where Guillaume de Calvart (d. July 22, 1633) and Jacques de Calvart (d. November 20, 1633) were sheriffs of the city, lords of Severen or Zeveren, and used seals similar to Calvert's that survive in the archives of Antwerp. John W. Papworth, *Ordinary of Arms* (London, 1874; reprint ed., London, 1961), p. 328, gives the arms *Or three martlets sable* for the Calverts of Warwico, lords of Zeveren in Flanders, on the strength of BL, Harl MS 4040, f. 462, and said to be borne in England by Manston of Manston, co. Dorset. Several variants on this coat exist in England, for which see Papworth, *Ordinary*, pp. 332, 333; the Calverts are connected with none of them. J.-B. Rietstap, *Armorial général*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Gouda, 1884-1887; reprint ed., New York, 1965) 1: 356, and V. and H. V. Rolland, *Illustrations to the Armorial général* by J.-B. Rietstap (Paris, 1903-1926; reprint ed., London, 1967), 2: C, pl. IX, show the Calvert arms with *Paly of six* and the Calwaert or Callewaert arms of Flanders with *Or three martlets*.
 16. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "St. George, Sir Richard," and s.v. "Rowlands, Richard," (hereafter cited as *DNB*). Henry Ellis, ed., *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, Camden Society Publications, 1st ser., vol. 23 (London, 1843, pp. 107-8 n. I am indebted to Mrs James (Françoise) Dagenais of Oxford, Ohio, for the normalized spelling of the name Callewaert in Flanders and also of the name Verstegen.
 17. MHS, *Calvert Papers*, 1: 38-40, especially p. 40 for the quotations in the text. The allegations in the exemplification make Calvert the source for his arms borne in England and also the earliest authority, with the help of Verstegen, for the Flemish descent of his family. *Ibid.*, 2: front., xiii-xiv, gives the emblazonment in the margin of the exemplification with the ducal crown or coronet correctly in the original gules, though the preface (2: xiv) prematurely calls the tincture of the crown or. Benedict Leonard Calvert the Younger (1700-1731), governor of Maryland, expressed a doubt to Hearne about the Flemish origin of the family, according to "Benedict Leonard Calvert the Younger," *MHM* 1 (1906): 277. B. L. Calvert declared his opinion that the family was descended from the Lancashire Calverts or Calverleys. Clay, ed. "Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire," *Genealogist*, n.s. 13: 167-72, finds no connection with the Calverleys of Calverley, Yorkshire, although their arms *Sable, an inescutcheon within an orle of six owls argent*, employ a ducal coronet in the crest as the Calverts of Kiplin arms. For an even more improbable affinity, the Calverley owls in number six have little in common with the Callewaert of Flanders martlets or heraldic swallows in number three except ornithology. For other transcriptions of the Calvert's *Paly of six* arms, see Bernard Burke, *Dormant and Extinct Peerages*, new ed. (London, 1883; reprint ed., London, 1962), p. 99 and William Berry, *Encyclopedia Heraldica*, 3 vols, (London, 1828), s.v. "Calvert," where, however, the ducal coronet is already given as or rather than the original gules. John Burke, *Commoners*, 4 vols. (London, 1833-1838), 3: 399-401, gives arms and crest virtually identical to those of the Calverts of Kiplin for Felix Calverd or Calvert (b. 1596), progenitor of the modern Lords Verney and founder of various branches of the Hertfordshire Calverts, a not-impossible duplication with simple arms. Mrs. Russel Hastings, "Calvert and Darnell Gleanings from English Wills," *MHM* 22 (December 1927): 321 n. 5, for the similarity of these arms. Berry, *Encyclopedia Heraldica*, s.v. "Calvert," gives the following arms *Sable on an inescutcheon, within an orle of owls argent three guttes sable* (Calverts of Lancashire), and *Paly, bendy, lozengy, or and sable* (Sir William Calvert, lord mayor of London, 1749, of the Hertfordshire family). James Fairbairn, *Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4th ed., 2 vols, in 1 (London, 1905; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1968), 1: 95, and Henry Washbourne, *The Book of Family Crests*, 10th ed., ed. J. P. Elven (London, 1862), 2: 81, give differences in the crests of the various Calverts. In the eighteenth century Thomas Salmon, *A Short View of the Families of the Present Irish Nobility* (London, 1759), p. 211, prepared a Calvert blazon in which precious stones, rather than colors and metals, represented the tinctures as follows: In the coat *Pally [sic] of six, topaz, and diamond, a bend counter changed*; for the crest *In a ducal coronet, two pennons, the first topaz, the other diamond, with staves, ruby*; and for the supporters *Two leopards, guardant-coward, proper*. Especially useful for heraldic terms is Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (New York, 1909; reprint ed., New York, 1978), p. 373, which notes that this ducal coronet is not to be confused with a coronet of rank. *Ibid.*, p. 487, for the need for a difference if Calvert bore paternal arms before his father's death. George Calvert's father was still alive in 1622 according to three letters written about the construction of Kiplin Hall by Wentworth to Christopher Danby, Leonard Calvert, and Mrs. Danby, June 2, 1622, *Wentworth Papers, 1597-1628*, ed. J. P. Cooper, Camden Society, 4th ser., vol. 12 (London, 1973), pp. 172-74.
 18. Clayton Colman Hall, *The Great Seal of Maryland*, MHS Fund Publication, no. 23 (Baltimore, 1886), p. 23 and nn. 1, 2; p. 24, finds "Manly Deeds, Womanly Words," as the most graceful, if not the

- most accurate, rendering and "Courage and Courtesy" an alliterative paraphrase rather than a translation of Calvert's motto. William Hand Browne, *Maryland: The History of a Palatinate*, 2d ed. (New York, 1904), p. 67, seeks the origins of the motto in an Italian proverb. Francis B. Culver, "The Motto of the Calverts, Barons of Baltimore: *Fatti Maschii Parole Femine*," *MHM* 20 (December 1925): 378-79, covers much of the same ground as Hall, though he makes a greater effort to trace the etiology of the proverb which he finds in standard Italian, Piedmontese, Lombard, Sicilian, and other dialects. That a variant already was current in England when Calvert adopted his motto is clear from the following: "But words are women, and deeds are men" Bodley to James, May 1, 1605, Sidney L. Jackson, *Libraries and Librarianship in the West: A Brief History* (New York, c. 1974), p. 158, quoting Thomas Bodley, *Letters to Thomas James, First Keeper of the Bodleian Library*, ed. G. W. Wheeler (Oxford, 1926), p. 136. *Maryland History Notes*, November 1946, cited EPFL, Baltimore, Maryland Department, Query File (hereafter cited as EPFL), notes that the motto is on the exemplification and proposed something similar to Sir Thomas Bodley: "Words (Are) Women, Deeds (Are) Men" or attributively "Deeds are More Powerful than Words." The absence of the motto from the text of the exemplification itself would follow English practice; and few grants like Calvert's would show a motto in the emblazonment before the eighteenth century, according to Fox-Davies, *Guide*, pp. 448, 449. *Ibid.*, p. 303, would question George Calvert's helmet in the armorial bearings in MHS, *Calvert Papers*, 2: front., which according to the fully developed rules for a knight or baronet should have been open and fronté, i.e., facing forward, not in profile with the visor closed, but Fox-Davies would accept the helmet of the second lord Baltimore (*Ibid.*, 1: front.), "silver, guarded by grilles and placed in profile," indicative of the rank of a peer. *Grantees of Arms*, comp. Joseph Foster, Harleian Society, Visitation Ser., vol. 66 (London, 1915), s.v. "Calvert," citing BL, Add MS 12,225, f. 22, for Sir William Segar's grant of supporters. Bernard C. Steiner, "Benedict Leonard Calvert, Esq., Governor of the Province of Maryland," *MHM* 3 (1908): 198, confirms without the source the grant of supporters and the changes of the tincture of the ducal coronet in the crest from gules to or. *DNB*, s.v. "Segar, Sir William." Fox-Davies, *Guide*, pp. 407, 419, gives the growing rigidity in the use of supporters with personal arms. The supporters appear, but the ducal coronet remains gules in the achievement of arms of Cecil Calvert, second lord Baltimore, which is at MHS, *Calvert Papers*, 1: front.
19. Dugdale, *Visitation of County of Yorke*, pp. 133, 188, and Clay ed., "Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire," *Genealogist*, n.s. 12: 199, 202, give the two armigerous branches of the Crosland family. See also Bernard Burke, *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* (London, 1884; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1969), p. 247. Fox-Davies, *Guide*, p. 488, discusses the crescent as a mark of cadency. *Ibid.*, pp. 535-36, indicates the preference in England to quarter arms of an ancestress without brothers whether or not she transmitted estates; but this predisposition would be inapplicable to the Calvert-Crosland problem since both Alice and Grace of the Crosland Hill family had brothers who left male issue.
 20. I am grateful to Mr. Robert Barnes of Baltimore for a conversation regarding the heraldic questions discussed here; however, he bears no responsibility for the solution of the Calvert-Crosland quartering which I propose. The first possibility suggested in the text requires that George Calvert's mother be an heiress whose arms he might quarter with his own but not use as his own. The second possibility, based on the difference between the cross botony or botonnée and the cross flory or fleury, that is, the buttoned or budding and the flowering cross, does not seem to work for the early seventeenth century by which time the various crosses were distinct. Mr. Barnes notes the later use of the cross flory by Benedict Swingate or Calvert. The cross flory also appears in the crest of John Woodhead Crosland, Esq., of Thornton Lodge, Yorkshire (Burke, *General Armory*, p. 247), apparently as a difference from the Crosland of Newry arms. The third possibility suggested by Mr. Barnes seems to be reversed by Fox-Davies, *Guide*, pp. 130-31, who thinks the cross botony is one of the earliest forms of the cross crosslet. For my own hypothesis, see notes 21 and 22 below.
 21. For unquartered use of the Calvert arms see: Indenture, August 16, 1639, MHS, MS 174: 47 (counterpart). William Stump, "Twenty-six Hundred Years of Money-Making," *Baltimore Sun Magazine*, November 20, 1955. *Heraldic Journal* 3: 21, which shows a woodcut copied from the shilling with the unquartered Calvert arms and also with a third motto used by the Calverts, *Crescite et multiplicamini* [Increase or be fruitful and multiply. Gen. 1: 22, 28, etc.]. MHS, Graphics, s.v. "Calvert Medals," an 8" x 10" black and white glossy print of an undated Calvert medal on which a map carries the inscription TERRA MARIAE, the Calvert arms with no Crosland quartering, and the following inscription around the edge commencing with a maltese cross: "VT: SOL: LVCEBIS: AMERICA." Charles Calvert to Cecil Calvert, second lord Baltimore, April 27, 1664, MHS, MS 174: 1063, has a seal impress without quartering or differencing. In the painting by Gerard Soest, ca. 1670, of the second lord Baltimore, his grandson, and a servant, there is a map of Maryland which is reproduced in Edward C. Papenfuss and Joseph M. Coale III, *The Hammond-Harwood House Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608-1908* (Baltimore and London, 1982), front. I am indebted to Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland for assistance with this painting, which is now in the EPFL. It is included in MHS, J. Hall Pleasants Studies in Maryland Portraits, no. 1514. The unquartered Calvert arms appear on the map in the painting. The map in the painting looks close in detail to the Hawley-Lewger map of 1635 or the John Ogilby map of 1671, but with the

- unquartered arms and count palatine's cap rather than the quartered arms of these maps (Papenfuse and Coale, *Atlas of Historical Maps*, pp. 6–7, figs. 4, 5). A detail or adaptation by Florence McKubin of the Soest painting hangs in the State House, Annapolis. Counterpart of Release from Charles Calvert, fifth lord Baltimore, to William Proctor, Esq., June 27, 1730, MHS, MS 174: 88. Salmon, *Short View of the Families*, p. 210, gives the *Paly of six* only and not the *Cross botony*. Parts of an indenture between Frederick Calvert, sixth lord Baltimore, and Thomas and Richard Penn, July 4, 1760, MHS, MS 174: 155, 156. See also the Calvert and Egerton arms as returned on May 4, 1767, MHS, Filing Case A, s.v. "Calvert Genealogical Data in Genealogical Office, Dublin" (negative photostat of Register of Pedigrees, vol. 183, p. 245), pursuant to a standing order of the House of Lords, August 12, 1707. For Lady Diana Egerton's status as a nonheirress see G. E. C. [George E. Cokayne], *The Complete Peerage*, ed. Vicary Gibbs et al. (London, 1910–1959), s.v. "Baltimore," "Bridgewater." William Armstrong Crozier, ed., *Crozier's General Armory* (New York, 1904; reprint ed., Baltimore, 1957, 1966), p. 33, which gives the unquartered Calvert arms as those of Leonard Calvert without any difference for cadency. Burke, *General Armory*, p. 161.
22. The earliest known example of the quartered arms of Calvert and Crosland is found on a map of Maryland from Cecil Calvert, second lord Baltimore, *A Relation of Maryland* (London, 1635), most readily available in either Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684* (New York, c. 1910), front., or Papenfuse and Coale, *Atlas of Historical Maps*, pp. 6, fig. 4, and 9, where Jerome Hawley and John Lewger are identified as the probable mapmakers. Foster, "His Yorkshire Boyhood," p. 264 n. 11. Foster cites Francis B. Culver, "Correction. Maternal Ancestry of Sir George Calvert," *MHM* 29 (December 1934): 330–31, which correctly dismisses Grace Crosland of the armigerous family of Crosland Hill as George's mother but makes too much of the *heraldic* arguments for Alice or Alicia as his mother. Chronologically, the next examples of the quartered arms are the seal of the Calverts' provinces and some specialized office seals, for which the best study is Hall, *Great Seal of Maryland*, pp. 11–23, 45–47, the latter location being an appendix, n. A: Commission for the Great Seal, which is the source for the quotation in the text. This commission also appears in MHS, *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1636–1667*, ed. William Hand Browne (Baltimore, 1885), pp. 214–15. Hall's monograph is a thorough discussion of the Great Seal of the Province and State of Maryland. See also Clayton Colman Hall, "The Stained Glass Windows in the State House at Annapolis," *MHM* 2 (1907): 47–53. John Ogilby, *America* (London, 1671), between pp. 182 and 183, displayed a map with the quartered Calvert-Crosland arms, which Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth-Century Maryland: A Bibliography* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 70, describes as largely a copy of the map from the *Relation of Maryland* of 1635. Papenfuse and Coale, *Atlas of Historical Maps*, p. 7, fig. 5, print the Ogilby map in color with the quartered arms and pp. 12–15, figs. 14a and b, 15a and b, the Augustine Herrman map also with the quartered arms. Certainly Ogilby, *America*, pp. 186–87, was among the first to write of the Baltimore oriole in the following terms, "other black and yellow, which last sort excels more in Beauty than tune, and is by the English there call'd the Baltemore-Bird [sic], because the Colours of his Lordships Coat of Arms are black and yellow." MHS, *Calvert Papers*, 1: front., gives the quartered Calvert-Crosland achievement of arms for Cecil Calvert, second lord Baltimore, apparently following the Ogilby map of 1671. For a more fanciful marshalling, see Calvert in first and fourth quarters, Calleeaert of Flanders in second quarter, and Crosland in third quarter, MHS, Filing Case A, s.v. "Calvert Pedigree [negative photostat of Bodleian Library, MS Hearne's Diaries 82: 129a]." Note the Calvert-Crosland quartering of the seal attached to a true copy of a document of the fifth lord Baltimore's land office of Maryland, January 5, 1737, MHS, MS 174: 297–¼. See Ps. 5: 12 in Authorized Version and Ps. 5: 13 in Douai Verson for translations of the motto *Scuto bonae voluntatis tuae coronasti nos*. Charles Boutell, *Boutell's Heraldry*, rev. J. P. Brooke-Little (London and New York, 1973), pp. 246–47. Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, *A Second Role of Arms* (Boston, 1932), p. 14. John Matthews, *Complete American Armoury and Blue Book* (New York, 1965), p. 128, and Bernard Burke, *General Armory Two* (Baltimore, 1974), p. 31, were the only works consulted that quarter the *Paly of six* with the *Cross flory* rather than the *Cross botony* for the Calvert-Crosland arms. G. D. Squibb, *Reports of Heraldic Cases in the Court of Chivalry, 1623–1732* (London, 1956), records no cases regarding the use of the Calvert or Crosland arms during the stated period. Fox-Davies, *Guide*, pp. 583, 603–4, describes the bishop of Durham's coroneted mitre, bringing together both his mitre and a ducal coronet. Perhaps the Calverts' use of a ducal coronet after 1622 in their personal arms and of the count palatine's cap in their provincial arms are emulating heraldically the temporal powers of the bishops of Durham, which they claimed under their provincial charters. *Ibid.*, pp. 330, 437, for the reference to the heraldic supporters of London.

BOOK NOTES

Genealogical Research in New England. Edited by Ralph J. Crandall. Published under the direction of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1984. 190 pp. \$17.50.)

The consolidation of six articles contained in this very comprehensive and illustrative guide to New England genealogical research has been published at a time germane to the 350th Anniversary of the noble Founding of Maryland in 1634 by English Catholics, under the valiant and courageous leadership of Governor Leonard Calvert and Father Andrew White, S.J. and their companions, as a haven of religious toleration.

The colonies of Virginia, New England and Maryland were made very close by navigation; ships constantly sailing between them from England bearing royal documents, news, supplies and exchange of people. As a result, early emigrant families were often kept in communion with their relatives who had settled in these areas of colonial America.

The Puritan cause, responsible for much of the immigration to America, particularly to New England, was a chief factor in the closeness of the families in that northern climate to those in the south. The patent books of colonial Maryland at the Hall of Records in Annapolis clearly demonstrate the migration of families from New England to Maryland in the seventeenth century, as in the case of Henry Bennet from New England to Anne Arundel Co., Md in 1664 (Will Book 4:217).

The American Revolutionary War significantly brought the colonies closer together. The references cited in this thorough guide contain religious, political, cultural, statistical, and above all, genealogical information relating to the people and causes during this tumultuously sad period.

The Civil War between the states terminating in 1865 is still a more extensive illustration of the unification of the former colonies and the divisiveness of families as a result of the bitter conflict. Sources cited, both historical and genealogical in the six articles, attest to these facts.

Mr. Crandall has taken six articles from *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, published between the years 1976-1982, and combined them in this guide book thusly:

1. "Maine Genealogy: Some Distinctive Aspects," by John Eldridge Frost.
2. "New Hampshire Genealogy: A Perspective," by David C. Dearborn.
3. "Vermont Genealogy: A Study in Migration," by Edward W. Hanson.
4. "Genealogical Research in Massachusetts: A Survey and Bibliographical Guide," by Edward W. Hanson and Homer Vincent Rutherford.
5. "Connecticut Genealogical Research: Sources and Suggestions," by Elizabeth Abbe.
6. "Genealogical Research in Rhode Island," by Jane Fletcher Fiske.

At the end of the six articles is given bibliographical references to published genealogies and local histories of the particular state. The Library of Congress, as well as many other state and local libraries, have many of the books cited in this publication.

In summation, this book represents an exhaustible source of reference material for students, historians and genealogists interested in the New England states from the sailing of the Mayflower to Plymouth Rock in 1620, to our contemporary generation.

JOSEPH CARROLL HOPKINS
Baltimore, Maryland

NEWS AND NOTICES

New Visitor Center Opens in Historic St. Maries City

A new Visitor Center officially opened in historic St. Maries City on March 25, 1984 as part of festivities commemorating the 350th anniversary of Maryland's founding in 1634.

Located in an area known as the Brentland Farm, the Visitor Center complex is a combination of restored and replica early 20th-century farm buildings which house a visitor information/ticket sales desk and orientation area, a museum gift shop, auditorium and an archaeological/historical exhibit.

The exhibit, entitled, "Life in Early Maryland: English Transplanted, English Transformed," was designed by Root and Chester, Inc. of Washington, D.C. and curated by St. Maries City historians, Dr. Lois Carr and Burton Kummerow, and archaeologist Dr. Henry Miller. It explores why Englishmen came to the New World, why they founded the colony of Maryland, and how they adapted to the environmental, social and economic conditions they encountered. On display are artifacts from 15 years of archaeological excavations at St. Maries City, including the first piece of armor recovered from an archaeological site in Maryland and a clay Indian pipe bowl decorated with a stylized human face.

The Visitor Center complex joins the other exhibits at St. Maries City—the Maryland Dove, the Reconstructed State House of 1676, the Godiah Spray Tobacco Plantation, and Chancellor's Point Natural History Center. A reconstructed 17th-century inn is scheduled to open in June.

Maryland Historic Archeology to be featured at Regional Meeting

In celebration of the 350th anniversary of Maryland's founding, the Archeological Society of Maryland, Inc., is hosting the annual meeting of the Eastern State Archeological Federation, November 2-4, 1984 at the Annapolis Holiday Inn. The prehistoric and historic archeology of about 20 eastern states will be the subject of illustrated lectures on all three days.

A feature of the meeting will be a symposium, "New Perspectives on the Archeology of Colonial Maryland." The symposium will bring together for the first time scholars who are revolutionizing historical archeology in Maryland.

Until recently, archeologists concentrated on subject-oriented investigations for purposes of historical attribution of sites, dating, and restoration. Today, archeologists are concentrating on economic and social development as revealed in evidence for trade, site patterning, and social status, as well as how present-day society responds to studies of its past. Participating in the symposium will be the principal investigators for recent archeological studies in Annapolis, Baltimore, and St. Mary's City. The symposium is supported by an award from the Maryland Humanities Council, Inc.

Further information about the program, including the necessary advance registration forms, can be obtained from Louise E. Akerson, 6601 Bellevue Drive, Columbia, Maryland 21046, telephone (301) 995-0259.

Society for Historians of the Early American Republic (1789-1848)

Call for sessions and/or papers for annual conference, July 26-27, 1985, at Gunston Hall, Virginia. Proposals for Virginia and Upper South sessions especially solicited; all others welcome. Submit proposals (three pages maximum) in triplicate, plus brief vitae, by October 31, 1984, to: SHEAR Program 1985, William H. Pease, Department of History, University of Maine, Orono, ME 04469. For membership information contact James H. Broussard, Department of History, Lebanon Valley College, Annville, PA 17003.

The Parker Genealogical Contest

In 1946 Mrs. Sumner A. Parker presented the Society with a sum of money in memory of her husband, the late Sumner A. Parker, with the suggestion that the income should be used to furnish cash prizes for an annual contest to determine the best genealogical works concerning families of or originating in Maryland.

RULES

1. Entries must be typewritten or in printed form and include an index.
2. References to sources from which information was obtained must be cited.
3. Entries will be judged on quality of content, scope and organization of material and clarity of presentation.
4. Decision of the judges will be final.
5. Entries for contest for any given year must

- be mailed prior to December 31st of that year to Parker Genealogical Contest, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.
6. All entries will become the property of the Maryland Historical Society. Publication rights and/or copyright remain with the author.

Norris Harris Genealogical Source Record Contest

Mrs. Norris Harris, a member of the Maryland Historical and the Maryland Genealogical Societies as well as a number of lineal societies, has established a monetary award for the best compilation of genealogical source records of Maryland. This prize, to be awarded annually, was established in memory of the late Norris Harris who was an ardent genealogist for many years.

RULES

1. All entries must be submitted in typewritten or published form and include an index if not arranged in alphabetical order.
2. Entries will be judged on scope, originality of the project, volume, and value to the genealogical researcher.
3. Entries must be original work, i.e., never before abstracted for public use, or published in any other work, serially or otherwise.
4. Entries should be submitted to the Norris

- Harris Genealogical Source Record Contest, c/o Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201, and must be received by March 31 of the contest year.
5. All entries will become the property of the Maryland Historical Society. Publication rights and/or copyright remain with the entrant.

Archives and Records

The Archives Branch of the Federal Archives and Records Center in Philadelphia will be moving to a new location in center city in June 1984. The new site will provide researchers with an expanded research room and for the first time include an exhibit area. The Regional Archives will be easily accessible by public transportation and within walking distance of the Philadelphia City Archives, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as well as Independence National Park. The Hours of operation now in effect will be extended. The new hours will be Monday thru Friday, 8:00 AM-5:00 PM and the first and third Saturdays of each month from 9:00 AM-1:00 PM. After June 4th the address and phone number will be:

Archives Branch
GSA Regional Office Building
9th & Market Streets
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Philadelphia, Pa. 19107
(215) 597-3000

MARYLAND PICTURE PUZZLE

Each installment of Maryland Picture Puzzle shows a photograph from the Maryland Historical Society collection which is, in some way, puzzling. Please test your visual skills and knowledge of Maryland in identifying it.

The intersection shown in the Summer 1984 Picture Puzzle is Fayette Street at Park and Liberty streets, 1912.

For this issue we've moved outside of Baltimore City. What is under construction? Where is it and when was it built? Send your responses to:

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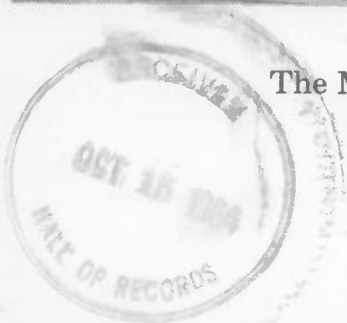
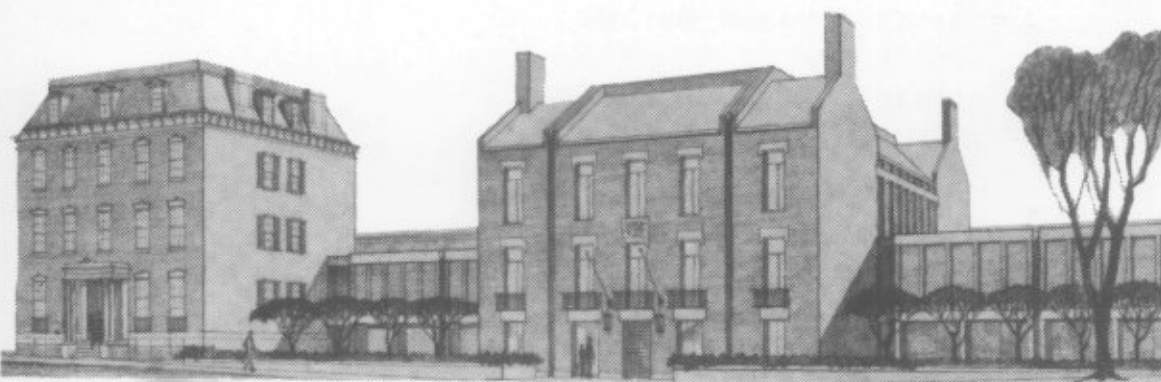
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